

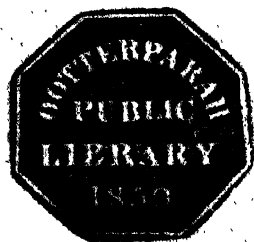
The
Doctrines In Dispute

vol- 14



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THE
DOCTRINES IN DISPUTE
BETWEEN THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE CHURCH OF ROME
TRULY REPRESENTED.

AN
ANSWER TO THE REPRESENTER'S REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
STATE AND VIEW OF THE CONTROVERSY,
WITH
A REPLY TO THE VINDICATOR'S FULL ANSWER;
SHEWING,

THAT THE VINDICATOR HAS UTTERLY RUINED THE NEW
DESIGN OF EXPOUNDING AND REPRESENTING POPERY.

THE PREFACE.

I HAVE here brought together the Representor and the Vindicator, two friends that seem to have been great strangers to one another of late. They have been so busy each of them in pursuing his own proper part, that they have had no eye to the safety of that design which is common to both.

Nothing seems to require a more nice and exact care, than so to expound and represent the Roman religion, as to gain Protestants, and yet not to hazard the very pretences to infallibility in the Roman Church, and to unity amongst themselves. And, therefore, since these two were engaged in this work, they ought, above all things, to have proceeded by common advice; and like two even squares, if it were possible, they should have touched one another in every point.

But something or other has broken off this correspondence : for the Vindicator has undone the Representer, if that man can be undone by another, who had undone himself before. And betwixt them both, there is a hopeful cause lost, which can never be retrieved but by new hands, or by a declared war between these two, in which the Representer, if he can, must undo the Vindicator.

If the Representer has a better opinion of his own affairs, he is a happy man ; for I dare almost undertake, that for the future nobody shall go about to disturb him, but he shall keep possession in peace.

I was for this time prevailed with to come in for one of his answerers. He has shaken off two or three already, and he is enough to tire out all the controvertists in town.

To write against him is now grown as unprofitable a drudgery, as to plough upon a rock, where there is no soil to be turned up. He gives little or no occasion to write any thing that will answer the attention of a judicious reader, and hardly of a curious one. He may be confuted indeed, and exposed as he deserves to be ; but it is but a mere trial of skill, which nobody is the better for. To answer him now will never pay the charge of a book, and therefore he that undertakes it must either leave him, as he was wont to serve his adversaries, or be content with pertinence where it is good for nothing.

This is the best apology I have to make for those barren pages which occur sometimes in the answer to him. And if the reader will accept it now, I pass my word to need it no more. The Representer may from this time, either carry on the character-controversy upon his old thirty-seven points, or he may think of some new additions to patch up a fourth part out of his first three, as he compounded a third out of his first and second ; and he may come out with fifteen fresh articles of representation once a year as long as he lives, without any great fear of being oppsed.

He may now write with a privilege, and say what he pleases, if H. Hills will but give his consent ; for I think nobody else is like to discourage him. And if he puts out a reply to this answer, he shall do very well, but then I promise him he shall answer it himself ; and get the victory by fighting the battle on both sides.

The Vindicator is making all the haste he can after him : In truth the Representer came first to perfection, by nothing else but getting the start of him. For I have no skill at all,

if the next book that the Vindicator writes in this controversy, does not make him a privileged author too.

Indeed if he should happen to be as good as his word, and try to answer the discourse of extreme unction, or fall upon some fresh subject the next thing he does, he will be but an ordinary man so much the longer.

For when those men begin a controversy, they write like other men, and so long it is possible to answer them; but they have such a way of carrying it on, as will wear out the patience of any man living. When their arguments are spent without doing any execution, one would believe they must of necessity yield; but they never appear invincible till then, and they bring such terrible reserves, when they can reason no longer, that the best we can do, is to make an honourable retreat.

The Vindicator is much in the same state that the Representor was in, when his last answer plainly shewed him that he had dropt the whole controversy, and lost his whole cause: for the Vindicator, as I have shewn in reply, has lost the very same cause another way; if therefore he intends to be as famous as the Representor, I expect from him a preface, or the like containing reflections upon my reply to his letter; and if that happens, he may expect from me one reply more, and after that, I promise him too, that for me, he shall flourish all the days of his life.

It was the same ungrateful work to have to do with one of these pieces, as with both; and it was pity that more than one man should disoblige his hands about it; and therefore when I had the Representor's performance before me, I needed no entreaty to tack the Vindicator's full answer to it; in my reply to which answer I have shewn these men to one another; and the Representor, I cannot but fancy, looks like a chemist, that having laid out all he is worth in trying for the philosopher's stone, is in the very nick of his unreasonable hopes, undone by an unlucky friend, who comes in hastily, and by one moment's meddling, confounds the whole operation.

The Representor has been setting up a good substantial Popery for Protestants to be fond of, which was to be found in the possession of living men, with whom we may change a word, as occasion serves; but the Vindicator who was in with him in the same design, must needs shew that he could help it forward by putting words together in less than a year's time; and so the Popery they have been labouring for so long, is dwindled into a Church-sense, which it is in vain for men

to expound one to another ; he has made it an invisible, unaccountable Popery, and something like a spirit, that troubles the house all night, but no body ever saw it.

This, I take it, must needs be a deadly disappointment to the Representor ; and what if these two men should now serve one another, as they have served us ? they are both of them like a pair of diamonds hard and sharp, and nothing can cut the one so handsomely as his fellow.

If they should chance to fall foul it would be indeed a comical end of the controversy, and not unsuitable to the Representor, who studied to make a farce of it, when he brought in his fanatic sermon.

But let them make what end of it they please, there is a time when it is decent for us to give over, that as hitherto truth has lost no ground for want of argument, so it may lose no honour by want of discretion.

I have given up the Representor, and shall but once more trouble the Vindicator, which will be more than enough for him, since ere long he may expect from his antagonist such an account of the articles of Bishop Meaux, as will be esteemed by judicious and impartial men, a final determination of that controversy.

His first reflection upon the Stater, is for misrepresenting the case of the Dissenters. Had the Stater done so, the Representor had business enough of his own to let them speak for themselves. But he had a better opinion of himself than so. "Hitherto," says he, "I have been concerned with such who have most unjustly traduced and exposed the doctrine and faith of our Church, and now of late an upstart sort of a misrepresentor has called upon me, who pretends to give an account of the present state,"* &c. Which is just as if he had said, "Have not I for this three years and upwards so mauled the traducers and expositors of Papists, that they feel it to this very hour ? How then durst this upstart sort of a misrepresentor shew his head, as if there were not such a man as I in the nation ?"

To this tune he begins, which is not seemly in a man, whose character requires more humility and modesty than this comes to ; for I am told he is a reverend father, which makes me the more sorry for him.

I am resolved to be very civil to the Representor ; but as he has behaved himself, I am at a great loss how to express it.

* Pref. pag. 1.

His falling upon the forementioned author as a misrepresenter, and the pretence upon which he does it too, is so very much out of the common road of pertinence, that I know not what to do with him. It looks as if he had been a little unsettled with that overweening opinion I mentioned just now; and then that those words of representing and misrepresenting had rung in his head so long, that while he is awake, he thinks of nothing but chastising misrepresenters, and dreams of it when he sleeps, and can find nothing but misrepresentation in every line of ours that he reads; and as if there were some cause to fear that he may happily forget every name that he has, but that of a Representer. To pretend, as he does, that that author had not taken care to shew the state of the controversy as it was, and that he intends to make this appear as far as concerns the Representer; and then presently to fall upon the Dissenters' case, is such a confusion of things, that there must be a disturbance in a man's head to put them together. And it is still a worse sign, that he speaks of that author's calling upon him: "Now of late," says he, "an upstart sort of a misrepresenter has called upon me." For what should it be, but the working of his own head, that mad him fancy that author called upon him, where, I dare say, he never so much as thought of him? For who would think that the Representer should be at all concerned for the true stating of matters that concerned the Dissenters?

It must be confessed that these are ill tokens, when they come thick upon one another; for some such disorder as I am speaking of appears in the very first line of his preface; which is so much the more remarkable, because that which is uppermost usually comes first. "It is my fate," says he, "always to have to do with misrepresenters." By which it should seem that this conceit is never out of his head. If he does but touch a book written by any of us, his imagination presently transforms it into a misrepresenter. And what is merely his own fancy, *viz.* that he has always to do with misrepresenters, he takes to be his fate, as if he were destined to be the scourge of this sort of men. And so The present State of the Controversy coming cross in his way, the author of it seemed to him to be an "upstart sort of a misrepresenter," as the flock of sheep seemed an army of giants to the wise Don, who also thought himself "called upon" to redress the wrongs, that were done any where in the world.

But I will not peremptorily conclude what the man ails; all

this, it may be, is but design, and the man has a serious meaning, though at first sight one would be apt to think that he is a little too much shattered to have any meaning at all. It may be said, that there is this pertinence in his matter, that it seems to serve a general end, *viz.* to do the Church of England a good turn, which he has been owing to her ever since he fell off to the Church of Rome; and this may be all the pertinence that he very much cares for; only because it is good to keep to a point, or at least to seem so to do, therefore when he has raked up a few more materials, he knows how to dispose them under these words of misrepresenting and representing; and then out comes a book. If it be thus, he was only to blame for straitening himself at first, and for promising long since that he would keep to his representing post. He should have called that book of his which led the way to the rest, "the first part of Miscellanies against the Church of England." For this title would have served him to have written books, part after part, as long as he should live; and I think the pertinence of them would never have been questioned.

But what has the author of the Present State said to bring upon him the charge of misrepresenting? Why, it seems he made bold to say, that some of the clergy of this city had written cases for the satisfaction of the Dissenters in the plainest and most inoffensive manner they could. But where is the misrepresentation? Was not the manner plain and inoffensive? "Yes," says the Representer, "as to the method and style in which those tracts were penned, for all as I know, there was plain and inoffensive writing."* So that, for all as he knows, the matter too might be as plain and inoffensive as the method and style of those books; for I perceive he never read them. What then can be the misrepresentation? To be short, it lies in this, that the Dissenters were at that time urged with other "persuasives, by writ, by summons, by seizing of goods,"† &c. Well, but did that author deny this? No; but he did not mention it; and, therefore, "he did not represent the state of the controversy between the Churches of England and of Rome, as it is, but as he would have it thought to be;"‡ *viz.* because he did not at all represent the state of the Dissenters with respect to the laws, when the divines wrote for their satisfaction. He that can haul and pull in things in this fashion will never want matter; but to let that pass, and to

* Pref. p. 2.

† P. 3.

‡ P. 2.

wander along with him for a while, as every man is bound to do, that will keep him company ; I cannot understand that it was that author's duty to make the least mention of the execution of the laws upon the Dissenters, unless the Representer can prove, that because he either studies to be impertinent, or cannot help it, therefore we are all bound to be so too. The Stater's business was to give an account to his friends how the controversy stood between us and the Church of Rome ; and he introduced his matter by shewing that the divines having written some discourses for the sake of Dissenters, and that with good success, did then apply themselves to the controversies with the Romanists. But because he did not enter upon an inquiry whether the laws had not more to do in this matter than the discourses of the divines, therefore the Representer talks of that author's "imposing upon his reader with poor shifts in a matter so well known ; and that he must not pass for a true Stater of controversy, who thus tells the story by halves ;"* so that unless we drag in matters that are nothing to the purpose, as he does, we tell stories by halves ; and nobody will be ever able to state controversy right that cannot foresee what rambling thoughts will come into the Representer's head the next time he writes a book. But since he is fallen upon this business, he may now please to observe, that neither the Stater, nor any of those divines of whom he made mention, used any of those persuasives of which the Representer speaks, but saved the Dissenters from them, as far as it consisted with their duty, and were by some people called names for their pains. But I perceive his trouble is, that the Stater should believe those discourses had good success. "For," says the man, "it is very probable that these sort of persuasions sent more to the Church than the discourses ; so that by what I remember of those times, had not the Church of England taken the lash in hand as well as the pen, the churches had continued as empty as they are at this day."† Our Representer plainly insinuates by the way, that our churches are somewhat empty at this day ; and this is the very man who, upon the present occasion, observes, that "although dealing out of relations by tales and by scraps might pass in a matter beyond our memory, as of the Council of Trent, of Lateran, of Pope Gregory ; yet to come thus with half stories in a concern of yesterday :‡ oh ! that is not to be endured. But whether our churches are, as it

were, empty, is without all doubt a concern of to-day; and for a man not to tell half stories of such a concern, but whole stories the quite contrary, What is that, I pray? That he thinks it probable that the Dissenters were more wrought upon by sufferings than by the discourses of the divines, I easily grant; for he knows of a certain Church that has done more by those sort of persuasives than by all that ever was written in her behalf, as all Europe and both the Indies can bear her witness. Doubtless, therefore, he thinks it probable that our Church was a gainer by the execution of the penal laws at that time; but whether it was so or not is another question. I find that where he mends the Stater's account for him, he would have had him to say, that it was "very likely (for such is the frailty of wicked man) that more were frightened and whipped to church than came thither by the force of our reasonings and discourses."* By the way, he should learn to be more grave and serious than to make sport with the frailty of wicked man: which is a thing that a good priest ought to lament and to remedy what he can by his doctrine and example. When he has to do with his adversaries, if he finds that any of them grow exceedingly impertinent, and when argument forsakes them fall to ridiculing, or that they use tricks to cover their convictions, and do but discover them so much the more, let him lay it on handsomely without sparing, if he likes this way of correction best. But for a priest of the living God to rally with the frailty of wicked man, when he means nothing by it, but to help out a lampoon upon a single adversary whom he does not love, is very unpriest-like, and a more likely way to make Atheists than to mend that which he, it seems, can make merry withal, the frailty of wicked man.

Well; but it is not so certain, that when the Dissenters were under the execution of the laws, that then, I say, human frailty wrought that way which he speaks of; for it might work the quite contrary way; and the orders for that purpose coming from above much about the same time, the offence which they took at that, might prejudice many of them against all that the divines could say, though the divines had no hand in it; for mankind is apt to be provoked, as well as to be frightened; and to act inconsiderately in one, as well as in the other case.

But there is this reason to think that they were rather the discourses than the penalties, which filled our churches, that the persecutions have been at an end a good while; and it is

therefore to be hoped that the virtue of the discourses did the good work at first, and goes on to do it still ; for whatever the Representer fancies, the churches are as full at this day as they were in those times, when he pretends the Church of England took the lash in hand. They are so full, that a reverend father may come to spy and hearken, and think to escape in the throng without being observed ; and what if the Representer has been upon this mission himself ? Then, I say, he shall represent for those that will trust him ; but for me and my friends never whilst he breathes.

As for his story of one Mr. De Laune,* I know nothing of it. The Representer says he wrote a book, and was sent to the Compter ; but he does not say it was for writing that book, though he would insinuate some such matter ; from which modesty of his, if there be any truth at all in the story, one might venture to conclude that he knew the man was sent to prison for something else. And yet if he were sent to prison for the writing of that book, but if neither that divine whom he wrote against, nor any of the rest contributed to it so much as by a wish, the Representer stings us not by this reflection. Of this I have told him something of my own knowledge already.

For what he says of some that were starved, and of orphans and widows that were made so by the penalties inflicted upon the Dissenters, it is to be hoped that our Representer overdoes the business, and rants somewhat too tragically.† For my part, I have always thought that the use of those persuasives which he talks of, does, at the long run, more mischief to a Church than good ; and, if I may speak my own experience, I do not find this spirit of moderation to prevail anywhere so much as in the Church of England. But the Representer brings over the sufferings of Dissenters for nothing else but to prejudice them against us. I will not here enter into an inquiry what reason there is for it ; but this one thing I will say, that I am no less desirous than himself that the Dissenters should be very often told of their sufferings in those times ; only if a man will be telling them, then, as the Representer says, it would do well not to tell the stories by halves ; but if he does, then (to return him some of his own words) I do not think, that “with all his poor shifts, his readers will be imposed upon in a matter so well known.”‡ And therefore I, no less than the Representer, desire that the Dissenters would think of all that is past as long as they have a day to live.

* P. 2.

† P. 3.

‡ P. 3.

As to the tracts that were soon after written against the Papists, the Representer observes that two things were not mentioned by the Stater upon this occasion, which he had upon the former; not the plain and inoffensive manner of writing; nor any news of success which these discourses had upon the parties designed.

For the former he says, that the "Stater was too conscious of the scurrilous and bitter spirit with which some of them were penned; that one against transubstantiation being instance enough."* By which he would insinuate that others of them too were written in the same manner. How hard is it for some men to be sincere in anything! I remember, indeed, some of these expressions in that discourse which he produces, such as impudence, nonsense, monstrous stupidity, and the like. But I would know of the Representer, whether there can be any just occasion for letting these words loose; and to the sense and reason of mankind I may appeal, if there can be an occasion more just than this; for it is impossible we should have greater evidence that anything is true, than we have that the doctrine of transubstantiation is false; and then I may ask the Representer, whether it be not the greatest abuse that ever was put upon mankind? This argument, therefore, would bear a little more quickness than was thought convenient for the handling of the rest. But here lies the sting of the Representer's charge, that transubstantiation is a subject in which so many learned and virtuous men of the Christian world are nearly concerned. To which I answer, that it is so much the worse for the Christian world, but not for the author of that discourse. For if, indeed, learned men and virtuous men espouse such a monstrous doctrine as that of transubstantiation, there is not less but greater cause to exclaim both against them and it. If the Representer thought that the learning and virtue of the men should have gained some more reverence for the cause than that author had for it, he may think so still for me; I will not go about to question the learning and the virtue of many that hold transubstantiation, but it is transubstantiation still. I think it is no question but there were many learned and virtuous men in Egypt, who were nearly concerned in the business of making gods of things that grew in their gardens, and yet he had not been to blame that should have said it was impudence, nonsense, and monstrous stupidity, to worship, and to teach others to worship leeks and onions.

Now for the second observation, that "we have no news of any success those discourses had upon the parties designed."* I say if they had, indeed, no success, the Stater was the honestest man not to say they had any; though he escaped here very well, that he was not made a misrepresenter for not confessing that they had none. But upon this occasion the Representer is very angry. "It could not," says he, "be rationally expected that those who—chose rather to forego all the interest and convenience of human life, than join with a schismatic congregation, should be afterwards brought to church by a few empty discourses, which making no more converts than they deserved, made, as I can hear of, none at all." But why schismatic congregation and a few empty discourses? When men keep what their adversaries would get from them, and when they have disappointed all their designs, they used to be pleased and in good humour; and though, perhaps, they may laugh heartily at their antagonists for losing their pains, yet it is not so natural to rage against them, as if themselves were the losers. I begin, therefore, to suspect that our Representer knows of some success those discourses had, which he is not willing to own. But be that as it will; as we did not think the better of the former performances, for their having had some success, so neither should we think the worse of these if they have had none, which may perhaps be imputed to the prejudice of the persons for whose good they were designed, rather than to the pretended emptiness of the discourses themselves; unless the Representer's word may be more securely relied upon for empty discourses now than for empty churches before. We are sorry that it proves so difficult a matter to recover these men; yet it is some consolation to us that we have lost so very few out of so great a body as the communion of the Church of England makes. And, therefore, if discourses are to be judged of by their success, the Representer, and such as he, should have a care of boasting at this time of day. Our design was not only to recover those that are deceived, but likewise to keep those from error that are in the way of truth; and, therefore, it may be reasonably presumed that our endeavours have had good success upon the greatest part of those whom they were designed to serve, though not upon all.

But when I have told this man what perhaps himself knows, that by these discourses we have gained some from Popery to the Reformed religion; I will also tell him, that if we had never

gained so much as one, it had been no disparagement to our arguments, since they have ways of fixing their proselytes, which we abhor ; of which I shall give this one instance. It is their rule (let others judge whether it be their practice) to require a dreadful oath of all whom they can gain, not to be prevailed withal *quocunque argumento*, by any argument, to forsake the communion of the Roman see. This oath is to be seen in the Pontifical, under the title of *Ordo ad reconciliandum Apostatam, Hæreticum, aut Schismaticum* ; and if the Representer be importunate he shall have it next time at length. To doubt only of any point which the Church of Rome teaches, is a sin that must come under confession, by which the priest is sure to have notice when the spirit of truth begins to work ; and upon signal given, to extinguish the first motions of it. We have a hard task, who are not only to oppose reasons to reasons, and to the common prejudices of men ; but to produce reason against particular engagements and oaths never to hearken to any reason at all.

The Representer gives himself out to be a convert, and may therefore be presumed not to be ignorant of these things, but to be himself entangled by an oath to be moved by no argument whatsoever, to return to this schismatic congregation, as he calls it ; and, therefore, in him it was great forgetfulness to ascribe the steadiness of the English Romanists to nothing else but Christian resolution, when he could not but know of some other engagements that are amongst them, which are not altogether so Christian ; which I had not observed here, if his severity to the Stater had not led me to it ; for it was but the very page before, in which he set upon him with all his eloquence for imputing the fulness of our congregations to the reasonings of the divines, without mentioning the execution of the laws. If I had been a Representer, that page, I think, would have kept me in some awe, and hindered me from doing that in the very next, which he calls telling stories by halves.

As for the most cruel persecution, which, as he says, those of his communion suffered lately, for not joining with our schismatic congregation, he describes it so terribly, and assigns the cause of it as positively as if this was a matter beyond our memory, which he knows it is not. But when a man has a mind to exercise his style, one subject may serve him as well as another.

But to return to the Present State ; the author of it either made but very small faults in drawing it up, or he is very much

obliged to the Representer for letting the great ones pass. His next quarrel with the Stater is for making the Roman parties his aggressors; and the Papist Misrepresented, &c.* the beginning of this book-war. For this man will have the onset to have been given by Dr. Sherlock, in his sermon before the House of Commons, which was published as near as I can learn about two months before the Representer came forth. The author of the Agreement, &c. concurs with him in his objection as he does in humour to admiration, though they have their several ways; for one of them proves that we are agreed with the Church of Rome, and the other that we misrepresent the same Church, and yet so like one another, as if the same planet governed them both. But as to the Doctor's sermon, I do acknowledge that there was one passage in it that grated upon the Papists. And I have two things to say to it. First, the Stater assures me he did not think of that sermon at all, when he was at work, and could therefore have no design in omitting it; but withal, now that he is told of it, he cannot grant that a single reflection in a sermon, that was afterwards printed at the desire of the House, ought to be esteemed the beginning or the occasion of these controversies. And he believes, that if we had published such a like book for this Church, as the Representer did for his party, and one of their sermons had been not long before published by command, with a like reflection upon us, they would for all that have thought us to be the aggressors. He says farther, that he spake only of discourses that professedly treated of these controversies; and, therefore, that if he had thought of that sermon, he thinks it was not his duty to take notice of it; and he wonders that the Representer should be so overset with a cavilling humour as not to observe those words; that from the "death of our late royal sovereign, our divines thought fit to be of the defensive side, and for some time published no more *discourse of that kind*, but waited to see," &c.† In the next place I must tell the Representer my thoughts, and leave others to judge of them as they see cause. I say then, that the Representer published indeed his book about two months after the sermon; but if the truth could be known, I would venture all the little that I am worth, that the Representer had been hammering out that book some months before that sermon was made. For not to insist upon it, that he has taken more time to write books that are a great deal

worse ; for perhaps he was otherwise employed, or gave himself some convenient relaxation. This, I believe, all considering persons will grant me, that to represent Popery in a kind of Protestant dress, is so nice, and withal so dangerous, though now, it seems, so necessary an undertaking, that no performance can require greater art and application of mind. Between the danger of giving up a point which the Church must not quit under the penalty of forfeiting her infallibility, and the danger of guarding it too plainly to the offence of Protestants, the undertaker is obliged to have his eyes about him, and to look on every side. Every expression must be exactly weighed. It will sometimes happen that but one will please, which will not be thought of till many others are tried and rejected. Sometimes again, when the first of all is not liked, after the rejecting of many others that are found more liable to exception, the first must be taken with all its faults. So that here will be much altering, and some restoring, and not a little fining and superfining. And when one man has done what he can, one man's judgment in a cause so perilous is not to be trusted. It must be revised by others ; and because faults will come in one upon the neck of another, where every place is a place to let them in, it must be revised again and again ; as the Bishop of Condom can tell this man, if he needs that anybody should tell him. Now though the Papist Misrepresented and Represented does not rise up to the spirit and the art of the Exposition of the Catholic faith ; yet considering the untractableness of the matter, it was no ill-wrought piece of work ; and excepting that blunder of his, that when he was a Protestant, he believed the sermons of the Papists to be in an unknown tongue, as well as their prayers, and two or three less considerable misfortunes, it was conveniently contrived for its end, which was to amuse less thinking people. In a word, it appears to be a work of so much labour and time, that I believe few will question, but though the Doctor's sermon was first rigged out, yet the Papist Misrepresented and Represented was upon the stocks a good while before. And then the Representer's conscience should have forbidden him to find fault with the Stater for intimating that the gentlemen of the Roman communion were first guilty of breaking the peace. This I think is enough in return to a small exception ; but whether it be or not the Stater is resolved to put himself upon the mercy of the world for the future, rather than he will run out into any more apologies upon so slender an occasion.

To proceed ; it was said in the Present State, that we were surprised to find no notice taken of the former tracts against Popery, in the Representer's first book. This he turns well enough, confessing that it must needs be a matter of surprise, that the "Papists now enjoying the royal favour, should after so many provocations, be contented to make no other return, than in a short, moderate and peaceable tract, to give an account of their faith, and doctrine," &c.* And so he takes occasion to praise their meekness and charity.

To all which it might be enough to say, that so long as it does nobody any hurt, other men may be safely allowed to commend themselves ; and let them consider whether it will do them any good ; but that if it were not more difficult to answer some books, than to give a reason for not answering them, in all likelihood we had heard the victories of these writers more celebrated at this time, than their meekness and charity.

But whereas he magnifies the good spirit of his short, moderate and peaceable tract, upon this score, that there was no upbraiding the Church of England divines in it, notwithstanding abusive reflections, &c. he does in effect confess of the first, what was proved of all his books but the first, "that the Church of England divines were intended in them, as we were very sure that they were."† He has for some time lost that wariness, which such a Representer as he sets up for should be always provided with. Well ; but however the tract was "moderate and peaceable, without any severe word or expression in it, or any upbraiding of the Church of England divines of the mischiefs they suffered from their hands." Now indeed, the tract does not call them knaves and villains, but only insinuates from one end to the other, that they had abused the people, and made them believe that the Church of Rome owns those things which she utterly disowns. Which how moderate and peaceable a charge it was, I might almost appeal to himself, or to the agreement-maker, when I have put him in mind, that what he at first called misrepresentation, after his anger had made him speak out, he bluntly calls lying and calumny, and what not ? Now this I acknowledge to be a short, but sure it is no moderate and peaceable way of managing controversies : And this was some reason for wise men to be a little surprised at it. But this was not all : for

* Pag. 7.

† View. v. 65.

there was no colour (whatever the Representer pretends) for neglecting those tracts against Popery, and beginning a new representation of it. For they proceeded upon the old and received representations of Popery, and such as had been allowed by Bellarmine, Becanus, Harding, Stapleton, and all the renowned champions of the Popish Church for an age and half before us ; whom this man does by necessary consequence arraign of misrepresenting Popery, whilst he accuses our divines of doing so ; although their discourses went upon that state of the fact which was agreed to by those old disputers.

Had these books been written in their days, we should have had no representations in return to them, but down-right disputing upon the several points as they are stated there. For to give them their due, when our divines came up to their own side of the question, those gentlemen came up to theirs, and maintained it as well as it could be maintained. But our friend the Representer has taken another way, which is in peaceable and moderate terms to give us the lie, for calling that Popery, which we dispute against, and what they disputed for.

Having thus commended himself and his, for their meekness and charity, it came presently in his mind to say something in praise of his book, though it did not mention those discourses : which he says could be no surprise, "but only to some half-witted men, who read things without understanding, and to whom plain sense is a riddle, and not to any others, though but of moderate parts."* And thus in pure kindness to his book, he does in the first place take the size of our understandings by it ; and from this time forward, whoever shall question the pertinence of his book, must go for a half-witted man, and one that has not so much as moderate parts. So that our business is presently done ; and then the discourses are brought to the test of the book, as you shall hear. "There was," says he, "scarce any controversial point or matter of moment in them, but what was spoke to, and opened in this one little tract : " and they must needs be in an evil condition, if there is scarce any point of theirs but what was spoken to and opened in so dangerous a piece as that one little tract : but it were well for them to escape so, if they might ; for by and by the Stater is told, that "if he will compare these discourses with the chapters of that treatise, he may find them all there spoke to

as to the substance, and something to spare." Now, if after scarce any point was omitted, the truth is, that all the discourses were spoken to, and something to spare; then it is like to go very hard with them. All the comfort is, that the discourses and the points are as yet said to be but spoke to; for there are divers ways of speaking to things, and some of them harmless enough. And therefore now comes the killing stroke: "The true reason of surprise was, that in so little room, and so plain a method, there was enough to *answer* those discourses."* Nay, he affirms, that "there was a noise about it throughout the nation, not for answering too little, but for answering too much." So that the discourses are gone beyond redemption, for there was enough to answer them; and if that would not do, they were answered too much: and which is more wonderful, there "was enough to answer, not only those discourses, but a great part of the books and sermons that had ever been writ or preached against Catholics;" to which if he had but added, "or that ever shall be written or preached against Catholics;" he had made an end of his work once for all, and his one little tract had made a pretty triumph over ages past, present, and to come.

Were I so happy as to grow upon an adversary in the way of reasoning, as this man does in boasting and pressing forward with new and greater confidence, I should not yet take myself to be a match for him: for I now perceive that he carries such invincible force in his face, that no modest man, though fortified with the conscience of honesty, and the advantage of a good cause, can always bear up against it, but must at length let his countenance fall, and turn away from him.

As to every article of this so much magnified tract, he has been twice distinctly answered, and the world has seen that he neither replied to the particulars of the first, nor of the second answer, but that at length he fairly dropped the defence of his charge upon every one of the thirty-seven points he began with, as the author of the View has shewn beyond contradiction. But what cares the Representer for all this? Still he goes on proclaiming what execution his tract has done upon us: "There," says he,† "are laid open all the little tricks and artifices, &c. There it was seen how often abuses in practice were condemned as the faith of the Church, &c. Here the

* Page 8.
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† P. 84.

surprise first began, &c. It began now to appear that the Papists were not what they had been rendered," &c. Suppose now, that another view of the whole controversy were taken, and it were discovered yet more particularly, if that were possible, that there were no such sights to be seen in his book as he proclaims ; still it would hold good, that tricks are laid open there, that there it may be seen how principles are mistaken, doctrines confounded, and imaginary monsters knocked down, and that is the book which can inform people of the truth, and discover to them all the pulpit-delusions. For by what I can see, he intends to talk on at this rate as long as he lives, if any man does but give him occasion ; and for his part, he desires no better occasion, than to have it shewn him that there is not the least ground for all this boasting. We have a comfortable employment, to be engaged with such a writer as this ; for if you confute his charge and his arguments, he falls a commending himself and his book as fast as he can ; and if you make it plain that you have confuted him, and that he has nothing to reply, he takes occasion to write another book, and to commend himself the faster for it ; and to rant as much or more than he did at first.

Which makes me almost wish that the Defender had not promised an account of these Reflections. For the man's confidence will serve him seven years hence, as well as it does now, and I doubt, something better ; for his force increases, as that of Antæus did, with his falls. It is impossible that ever he should want matter, for he can repeat the very same to the world's end, if he lives so long ; and though it has been considered by his answerers never so particularly, it is all one for that, he is grown past taking any notice of such things. For a little variety, he has no more to do but to study some ridiculing harangue, and to gather flowers from Bartholomew-fair, the Pall Mall, the Gaming Houses, the Hind and Panther,* and such like, for the adorning of his characters, and so he is completely furnished for a new book : to which we can have no more to say, than to that which we had just before it, unless it be to admire the man's confidence, which we have admired so much already, that when we are a little more used to it, we shall not admire it at all.

That he has hitherto behaved himself in this manner, is what himself and all the world knows that has taken notice of

this controversy : or at least he has been very careful that they should know it now, if they could be ignorant of it before. The author of the View had deduced the whole dispute from the beginning, and it was made exceedingly plain, that this man had dropped the defence not only of every point he began with, but of those very pretences upon which he did so ; and the worst of all was, that the same author had made him, as it now appears, sick of his last reply too, where he had diverted himself with so many things that were nothing to his first business : this now was a very great strait, and there was no other way to be taken, but either in prudence to sit still, and so let the world forget what was past ; or with exceeding modesty to confess that a man may be mistaken, and so forth ; or with the excess of the contrary quality, to do as the Representer has now done : for now he has taken up a pretence which he dropped the defence of, but in his second reply, *viz.* that his Answerer did sometimes appeal to private authors, and so all that he has said ought to go for nothing.* “ An answer,” says he, “ is set forth to amuse the world, as the fashion is, with the banding and tossing to and fro of many school-questions, but never coming to the point of disproving the character of a Papist represented, or endeavouring to shew that the faith as there stated, was not really the faith of Catholics ; nay, this was scarce so much as offered at, except in two or three points, which yet ought to have been the main design of the Answerer, and the only way of giving it a just reply.”†

Thus he presses upon us with mere confidence, in which though possibly he might feel no checks from his own conscience, yet it is something strange that he should not fear his reader's knowledge ; for that author had sufficiently disproved the character of a Papist represented, if to shew from point to point that it was no sincere character, be to disprove it. He made it plain, that almost every where too much was put in, or too little, as might best serve the design of setting the Papist out fairly to the people : the Representer should have shewn, that the answer came short of that account which the view gave of it,‡ “ That every question was particularly and exactly stated ; that the sense of the Church of Rome about it was shewn by the decrees of their Trent Council, or their Roman Catechism, or their public offices, and their most

* See View, p. 24.

† Pref. p. 9.
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‡ View, p. 3, 4.

approved divines and casuists, as the matter required.—And by the way, all the false colours of the Representer were taken off, where he thought it for the purpose to lay them on too foul on his misrepresenting, or too fair on his representing side.” If this was done as it was said, and so done, that the Representer has long since dropped his two or three exceptions against it, and never from the first ventured upon a particular reply to it, surely he has been rubbing hard ever since, to come forth now, and think to put us off with saying the answer “never came up to the point,” &c. Indeed he brings over two or three particulars again in this preface, which he represented upon in his first book : but is it to compare his own characters with his adversary’s answer, and to shew that he had not come to the point ? No such matter, I assure ye ; but only to let us know, that when they represent themselves right, we call it new Popery, which he would make the world believe is all that we now have to save ourselves from being accounted calumniators ; which he pursues with such noise in saying the same thing over and over again, that if repetition of little matter, and more words, were an argument of truth, he would be the most convincing writer that ever set up for the cause.

For, setting aside the prophets that cried from morning to noon, “Oh, Baal, hear us ;” I think no man has outdone the Representer in this kind of eloquence, especially when it came into his head to be revenged on the pulpits—those high places the pulpits—for all the mischief they have done to Popery, and to inveigh against that unlucky distinction between old and new Popery.

He tells us “that several things were heard from the pulpits which were found not to square with truth ; and that from those high places the innocent hind had been made to look like tigers, wolves, and bears.”*

“All is true representing when Popery is to be shewn from the pulpits.—In this manner did Protestants treat Papists ; in this manner are they now handled by Protestants, and yet all must pass for true representing. And because the Catholics will not own that to be their faith and religion, as it stands, thus stretched and racked upon Protestant tenters and hyperbolics, the cry is now, forsooth, they are ashamed of their old religion, and have brought in a new Popery. A poor shift,

God knows! No, we are not ashamed of our old religion.—To us the old and the new is all the same,”* &c.

“But this cant of new Popery must be kept up to save the credit of the pulpits.—And were it not for this little come off, this poor shift of new Popery, they would be eternally blemished with the foulest of imputations, that of misrepresenting, of calumniating, of inventing scandals against their neighbour. It is evident now to those that look upon Popery as it appears amongst us at this day, with an unprejudiced eye, that it has quite another face, other colours, other features than they have painted her with for so many years from the *pulpits*. All that they have heard from these *high places* has been full of dread and horror, cruelty in her looks, malice and wickedness in her heart, blood-thirsting in her desires,”† &c.

If it be possible, he will make the pulpits hear of all these things again; and, therefore, he goes on: “Where are all these abominations, these marks of the beast? *Shew us, pulpits, shew us.* Where is her cruelty, her bloodiness, her tyranny, her arbitrary power?—How many throats hath she cut? Where has she wronged her neighbour? Where is this, where is that, and where are all these things? *Shew us.*”

And if none of these things can be shewn, then “the *pulpits* must pass for false prophets, misrepresenters, and disturbers of the nation; and what return now do the *pulpits* make to this demand? Oh! this is a new sort of Popery.—The Papists are weary of their *old* religion, and have taken up a new one.”‡

Now this is admirable, if the man had but known when he was well; but he has not done yet by a great deal; for having observed that the Papists are found by experience to be very good men, the pulpits are sure to hear of it again. “How,” says he, “shall the characters of the *pulpits* be reconciled with this experience? Oh! the Papists dissemble their principles and are ashamed of their *old* religion; and this forsooth acquits the *pulpits*.”§—And the same poor shift is to serve them upon all occasions; or else what would become of the pulpits? If the Papists do this good thing, this is presently set out for *new Popery*. The Papists declare this doctrine. This again is *new Popery*. The Papists teach that doctrine and the other doctrine. This is all *new Popery*.—And “it evidently appearing to the world that Catholics neither believe nor do as was represented by the *pulpits*, the only remedy for

* P. 12.

† P. 13.

‡ P. 14.

§ P. 15.

the keeping their credit whole is to cry out, this is not the *old* religion, this is a *new Popery*.* And indeed it must needs be a *new Popery* to those that knew no more of Popery than the *pulpits* shewed them.—For they who never heard more of Popery than *pulpit* characters, must needs think the present Popery a *new Popery*.—And “who shall ever make them believe that this is that *old pulpit Popery*, those *old pulpit Papists*, which they have so often seen painted out in their Sunday lectures.—For the Church of England in her *pulpits* made Popery and the Papists so unlike what they now appear, that Popery must be cut into an *old* and a *new Popery* to save their reputation,” *i. e.* the reputation of the pulpits.

And thus he runs on for five or six pages together, crying out, “*Pulpits! pulpits! old Popery! new Popery! pulpit Popery! Protestant-rack-Popery! sons of Anak-Popery! wry-necked, hunch-backed, swag-bellied, broken-legged, and splay-footed Popery!*”† which is the similitude he took from the posture-master in the Pall Mall, as he did the former out of the Scripture.

Certainly, if one of us had answered him in this manner, and he had got a companion, it had been the most entertaining sort of controversy that ever was written; and the world will never care for the “banding and tossing to and fro of school questions” any more, after the benefit of tossing a few exclamations to and fro, as he can do it, shall be well understood.‡

Now one would be glad to know what the meaning of all this is; and I think it is this: he had observed, that “after all the vain attempts, his first book remaining in its full force, now at last a new one was invented, *viz.* that the belief of Catholics as there deciphered, is a new Popery.”§ And he thought that this new force which we had raised against him and his book was so contemptible, that he had nothing to do but to shout it out of the field. The truth is, after he had persuaded himself that all the attempts upon his book were vain, he might easily believe any thing to his own advantage; and if what he said of his book, that it remained in full force, had been said of himself, no body would have wondered at him. I have already discovered some fear that all is not well in his head; but if it be so, his disorder inclines the right way, and to make him happy; for if a man has a strong fancy that he has won battles, and conceits himself a very emperor, and another Julius Cæsar, or perhaps Cæsar himself, it may be,

* P. 16. † P. 17. p. 14. p. 18. ‡ P. 9. § P. 9.

as some say, an unkind part to bring him to his true understanding.

But if the Representer should merely affect this way of writing, and be sensible all the while how the matter stands; I pity him with all my heart; and so much the more, lest any of those that have not read what was written against his first book, should believe that it stands in its full force, because he says so; for there are men in the world that believe implicitly, and this gentleman must reckon for those that believe him so, as well as they for themselves. If his livelihood comes in by writing controversies, he should consider that there are many honest ways of getting a livelihood, and no necessity of taking this. I will here take the occasion to say a good word of myself, and that is, that rather than prevaricate in things of this nature, I would make very hard shift. If it were too late to apply myself to handicraft trades, yet may be I could dig, or the like; but if I could not dig, I would not be ashamed to beg: perhaps I might get something by turning my pen another way, and writing of things where I had more liberty, as by writing almanacs or any such thing, where mistakes will be committed in abundance, and are forgiven in course, and will be sure to do nobody any hurt; but to impose upon men in books that treat of divinity, is one of the last dishonest things I could take to; I should think of that and of taking a convenient stand near the town much about the same time; and the reason why he that does the one does not the other, is because all men's abilities do not lie the same way.

The Representer, I imagine, will subscribe to these notions, and perhaps bid me apply them effectually to myself; which, if he does, I will heartily thank him for it, and promise to take all the good counsel he shall give me as well as I can, and to follow good examples where they are to be had.

In these Reflections of his, a man must have very good luck that meets with any thing that is worth answering; but if he cannot find what he would, he must learn patience and be content with what he can get.

I. He would make us believe, "that the only way of giving his first book a just reply, was to have shewn that the faith as there stated was not really the faith of Catholics."* Now this indeed might have been the only way, according as the Representer might have drawn his characters; but as he has ordered

the matter, it is not the only way, for he has for the most part told stories by halves in the character of a Papist represented ; and surely one misrepresenting trick is discovered on his side, if it be shewn that the faith of a Papist, as stated under this or that article,* is not all his faith, but that it seems there was something concealed which was too bad to be shewn. For instance, the Representer takes occasion to bring in this character of a Papist under the head of indulgences. "The Papists teach that neither the Pope nor any other power upon earth can give leave to sin for a sum of money." Nay, in his first book the Papist believes it damnable to hold that any power in heaven or earth can do it. Now we will suppose this to be the faith of a Papist. But then to represent him as he is, he should have added thus much at least : "that he does not believe it damnable to hold that an indulgence or pardon of sins can be obtained for a sum of money after they are committed, nor that the task of the Apostolic Chamber, which sets the pardon of the most horrid sins at very reasonable rates, is a damnable scandal, nor that they who trust in the Pope's bulls for plenary remission of sins, are damnably deceived." Now all this is concealed, and yet I doubt it will be found to belong to the character of a Papist, with respect to the matter of indulgences and pardons ; and in all like cases to shew what the Representer concealed, is a just reply to his characters ; but whether it be a just reply to him, is a point wherein he is more concerned than we need to be.

II. He seems to lay great weight upon this : "That to this pitch of confidence, if not more, are some Church of England divines arrived, that they pretend to know what the religion of Papists is better than they."—"Is it likely," says he, "the Jews can tell better what Christ teaches than Christ himself or his Apostles?"—"Can Protestants tell better what Catholics believe than Catholics themselves? If the character of a thing is best received from professed, interested and bitter enemies, then indeed they may put in for the best informers of our faith." Much more he says to this purpose, just as he cried out pulpits and Popery, without adding any thing of new matter. Now, where no answers are needful, I am sure these that follow may suffice.

1. It is false, that I (for instance) "pretend to know what the religion of Papists is, better than he, the Representer."

But for all that, it is true, that unless he mends his characters of a Papist represented, I do pretend to represent Popery with more honesty than he does. I cannot tell what this man believes better than he does himself, nor so well neither ; but I can tell as well as he, what their Trent Council, their Catechisms, their Pontifical, their Missal, their Breviary, and their established offices say. Are these mysteries that no man must pretend to understand but a Representer, and some few besides ? For,

2. Why must we be brought in as pretending to know what Popery is better than Papists know it ? Was Bellarmine (with all those of the old strain) a Protestant ? Is Father Crasset a Protestant ? Or Cardinal Capisucchi, who approved the Bishop of Condom's Exposition too ? Are they Protestants in Spain or Italy ? Do we represent their worship of images so grossly as that very Cardinal does ? Do we represent Popery otherwise than all these have and do profess and practise ?

3. It had been an impudent thing in the Jews, to pretend that they could tell better what Christ taught than Christ himself or his Apostles. And it was silly in the Representer to run so high an instance, unless he would insinuate that we are as it were Jews, and himself a kind of an Apostle. I would have him observe, that we are not so senseless, as to think that we can tell what a Representer and an Expositor teach, better than themselves ; but in many things we can tell as well as they ; by the same token that they teach some things for Catholic doctrines, which in their Church have been accounted little better than heresies ; and suppress others, which their predecessors scorned to suppress. But though some Romanists do now think fit to palliate their religion in this manner ; yet Christ and his Apostles did no such thing, and were not therefore liable to that reproof which these men must bear in spite of their hearts.

4. For what he says, that "bitter enemies" are not to be believed in the characters they give of others ; I answer, that neither are designing and self-interested men to be believed in the characters they give of themselves. Animosity, says he, sets a bias upon the heart. And is there nothing that does it beside ? What thinks he of the design to reconcile a nation so averse to Popery as this is ? and of the several conveniencies that will follow such a change ? Nor is it so certain that we are their bitter enemies, as that they are very great lovers of

themselves. I am so far from being a bitter enemy to the Representer, that I am now doing him the office of a severe friend, by telling him the truth, which he cares not to hear; but, it may be, I may bring him to blushing, which he seems to have taken his leave of; and he may in time thank me for it. I tell him, that in this place he talks wretchedly, and I desire him to reflect upon himself, before he pretends to make any more reflections upon us. "Doth not every body know," says he, "that the Church of England has proclaimed herself an open and professed enemy to the Church of Rome? Does not this unqualify her for a true representer?" Now admitting our Church to be as open and professed an enemy to his, as she is to the errors and abuses of it; yet who does not know that this can only unqualify her for a representer, to be believed upon her own word? But she may represent truly for all that: which is so plain a case, that this man, if he was in his right mind when he wrote these things, could not but know it. The most therefore that he could make of this supposed enmity of our Church against his, is, that we are not to be trusted with an implicit faith; which we desire not to be; but rather to be believed in these matters so far as we prove what we say, and no farther: and if he be trusted no farther, we desire no more.

III. "We offer," says he, "and are ready to accept any into our communion, that will but embrace and receive the doctrine as it there stands (in his first book) under those very colours, and that shape; owning not only the substance of it, but even that appearance," &c. Now this he hath offered twice or thrice before, and his offer has been as often answered, but he will not take the least notice of it. He thought at first, no doubt, that here he had nicked the business; but though he has had some reason to fall in his opinion of the proposal, yet he comes over with it, as if this too remained in its full force. I will try, however, if it be possible, to oblige him to reflect upon what we have to say in this matter.

1. Then this offer ought to be esteemed no otherwise than a ludicrous one, made without good faith, and with no other meaning than to put some colour upon his own deceitful characters of a Papist; because he has been told, and indeed could not be ignorant of it before, that we cannot swallow Popery even as he hath smoothed and gilded it for us. He has in the first answer to his book, our reasons against Popery, as by him represented; which he did not, and I

imagine durst not reply to. And so long as our reasons are good against that which he confesses to be Popery, he offers a vain trial of his sincerity about that which he denies to be so ; because he knows, that as the case stands, it is impossible for us, if we will keep a good conscience, to accept the offer. And therefore this beloved offer of his, which he intended for a varnish to set off his characters, will to all men that can use their eyes, give a just occasion to suspect they are false ; and that the sincerity he has used in his representation, is of one piece with that which he has shewn in his proposal.

To which I may add, that if we are very sure that his characters are deceitful, if we see that himself declines the defence of them, and that no importunity will provoke him to undertake the vindication of them, and that he writes time after time to excuse himself from it ; we cannot have just cause to believe that he is not deceitful in the offer he makes upon such characters.

2. Suppose that we could accept, and should be accepted here upon the terms he propounds, yet we have no security that when we are in, this Representer either can, or will if he could, save us from being pressed to profess and practise that Popery which he either denies or conceals. On the one hand we are very certain that the prevailing part of his Church hold that, which he either rejects from his faith, or says nothing of ; and (if we understand any thing) that they declare agreeably to their Councils and public Offices. On the other hand, we have no reason at all to believe his authority in the Roman Church to be considerable enough to carry on his representation when the turn is once served ; or to secure us from being served in due time, as Monsieur Imbert has been, who was basely left in the lurch by the Bishop of Meaux, after he had declared for worshiping not the wood, but Christ, not the cross, but him that suffered on it. Where the Inquisition is set up, could this man, that talks as if he were some body, govern the proceedings by his characters ? If he thinks that he could, that is a new reason to suspect that his wits are set aside by self-conceit : if that he could not, what conscience could it be in him, to try if he could draw us into snares ; and by his new Popery wheedle us into a subjection to the Roman See, and so into a necessity of being used as the physician at Goa* was, who suffered under the Inquisition for two things, whereof

* Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa, chap. xxvii.

one was, no more than his declaring, as his accusers said, that an ivory crucifix was a piece of ivory, which, I should think, may as safely be said according to the rules of new Popery, as what the Representer offers might be done, *viz.* to burn an image or a crucifix, if that will satisfy us that he has no superstition in these things. For, as I remember, he talks at this rate.

But then again, if the Representer were a man of that figure in his Church, as to be able to save us in a time of exigence, we have not yet any good reason to trust him that he would be willing to do so, for he has not given us reasonable assurance that himself rejects that Popery, which he knows we call so. I shall therefore take the liberty with him, that he has done with us, and put him upon a test, which I think he cannot honestly refuse. He has taxed his Answerer with charging the determinations of schoolmen, and the sentiments of private authors, and some passages in old missals and rituals, upon the Church of Rome, as if her doctrine were to be concluded from thence. I will not here repeat what has been said in answer to it. But this I say, will the Representer be content to go through his thirty-seven points as they are considered by his first Answerer, and make his mark upon every thing which he rejects, and which he says we falsely charge upon the Church of Rome, and declare before the world upon his honest word, what is that he believes to be impious there, and ought not to be fastened upon his Church? This perhaps would be something, and we who are not a little disposed to hope well of other men, might then conceive ourselves obliged to think that he means honestly. He has more than once or twice offered, that his Church shall receive us upon his terms, and he has been answered. But, as I do remember, he has been asked whether he would refuse us if we desired to come into the Roman Communion, with that which we call old Popery. But I do not remember that he has answered to that. And yet I will assure him this was a very material question; and which I will make him take notice of here if I can. Will the Representer take us by the hand and present us to his Church, if we should come with the Lateran Popery about deposing Sovereigns for heresy, and with the Trent Popery about the worship of images, as it is understood by Bellarmine, or rather by Capisucchi, and as it is practised by the Tartuffs of the Roman Church, and with all that old Popery which the Answerer gives an account of? If he will

not undertake for us upon these terms, let him do two things which may fairly be demanded :

1. Let him go through the thirty-seven heads, as I said before, and tell us particularly what the Answerer charges upon Papists, which we do well in rejecting, but ill in imputing it to them. And,

2. Let him say plainly to every particular where he thinks there is just occasion to say so, the Church of Rome will not receive you if you come with this belief, or with this practice, which yet you presume to call Popery.

But if the Representer will undertake for us upon these terms, even of Popery as it is represented by that author ; then I must beg of him to tell us what he meant by such expressions as these : “ If you have truly represented the doctrines of the Church of Rome, I would as soon be a Turk as your Papist. That imaginary monsters are raised up to knock down at pleasure : that we raise a monster of religion,† such things as none can be in love with, but those that are bold enough to embrace damnation bare-faced, and then this is the character of Popery.”‡ And much more to the same purpose which he says up and down in his replies. Nothing is more familiar with him than to say, we *abhor* and *detest* and *abominate* that which is charged upon us. But I beseech you, Sir, is your Church so catholic, as to take in men who say and do such things as part of their religion, which you detest and abominate, who come with a monster of religion that none can be in love with, but the lovers of bare-faced damnation ? Or does it take in Turks ? for you would as soon be a Turk as our Papist, as you told us long since. Here I am apt to think you will need all the improvement of your confidence, and it will not help you neither. You have been thus long dancing in a net, and if you are not secured that way I have so often hinted before, you will now begin to see it. For I pray observe, if the characters that your first Answerer set a Papist out with, are black enough to make a man look like a Turk, nothing could have been more easy to note than these characters ; and you know monsters are very remarkable things, and may be shewn with a finger. And therefore we do expect that you would now at last point them out, as they lie at large (for so you say they do) throughout the Answerer's book. And when you have done this, it will then come upon you to declare whether with

these monsters you will present us to your Church, and undertake for our admittance, or not. If you will not, pray say so, and by the way think of giving some account how those Schoolmen, and private authors, came to be the celebrated members, and those old rituals and mass-books the standing offices of your Church; for you do not accuse your Answerer for seeking any where else to find these monsters. But, to come close to the point, if you will take any man that comes with these monsters, have we not great reason to suspect that if we should come without them, you would not expose yourself to defend us from them, if it should be thought fit to let them loose upon us? I hope therefore that we shall be troubled with this offer no more of coming into your Church upon your terms till you give us some better reason than yet we have had, to believe that you are willing to secure us from those terms, which in general you say are monstrous, but which you have not yet told us what they are in particular.

Here therefore I challenge you to declare what those particulars are, those monsters, those doctrines and practices which you do so detest and abominate; and if you refuse so to do, I fasten upon you the mark of insincerity and juggling, for offering that we shall be received into the Church of Rome without them.

For, observe me, Sir, if for fear of falling foul upon those of your own party, you dare not declare in particular what those monsters are; though this be necessary to gain us to your communion; how much less will you stand between us and them when once we are gained?

Nor must you think to give us the slip now, as hitherto you have done. It will no longer serve your turn to feign characters of a Papist misrepresented for us, and to raise up imaginary monsters, as you speak, to knock down at pleasure. Remember to take your Answerer's character of a Papist, who has so described your religion, that you would as soon be a Turk as his Papist. This you know is to be done for our satisfaction, and therefore our characters of a Papist, as we describe them for ourselves, not as you describe them for us, are to be marked by you. Remember again, that you go from point to point, and tell us all along as you go, what it is in his way of stating your religion, which you detest and abominate; for we shall take it for granted, that you do not detest, or at least that you do not say that you detest, what you let go without any note of your indignation. In a word, this is but

what you ought to have done all this while, and the representing controversy had been soon at an end. But now it is necessary for you to do it, that we may at least know what your Popery is, and what reason we have to trust your offers.

Whether I shall hear from you upon these matters, I cannot foresee ; but in the mean time I do not much care if I give you my thoughts concerning the bottom of this business ; I question not but you are willing to receive us into the Roman Church, upon our making the profession of your Papist misrepresented ; and, I have some reason to think, upon much easier terms of profession, for which I shall by and by give my reason. If we would but do as you do, we might for some time put what interpretation upon it we please. If we would subscribe Pope Pius's Creed, we might deliver in a protestation of what sense we please ; if we would but adore the cross, and worship the sacrament as you do, we might declare what intention we please : but in matters of religion, insincerity and dissimulation are such odious things, that we who dare not prevaricate with our own consciences, can neither have a very good opinion of those who would help us to do so, nor of the cause which needs it. We cannot but see that the secret meaning of all is this, that we must submit to Rome, and do as they do at Rome ; and till better care can be taken, we may be allowed to comment upon what we do even as we list, and while we take our rule of faith and worship from Papists, we may, if that will content us, go on to talk like Protestants. And I doubt not, but that if this were honest, we might make better conditions for ourselves, than the Representer has made for us. One thing I am sure of, that the converts of the city of Orange, were received upon such easy terms in point of declaration, that if subjection and communion had not been to follow, one would have looked upon the whole transaction, as a solemn jest between the French General, and the Bishop of Orange on the one side, and the citizens of Orange on the other. The passage is very remarkable and instructing, and therefore I shall not think much to set down the articles of reconciliation, as I have received them from hands of unquestionable credit.

1. "The citizens of the town of Orange that are underwritten, considering that it is the will of God (of which kings are the principal interpreters) that all Christians should reunite themselves into the same Church ; to testify their submission to the order of the Divine Providence, and that

which they bear to the holy intentions of the king ; do entreat of his Majesty, that his troops commanded by the Count de Tesse, should depart from them ; and that the expense which has been, or shall be made by them, be levied upon the whole state, without distinction of religion.

“ We order the execution of the present Article, according to the full tenor of it.

“TESSE.”

2. “They declare that they do reunite themselves to the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, after the manner which that Church doth use, to believe and profess all the Christian and orthodox truths contained in the holy Scripture, which God hath manifested to the Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists, following the interpretation and sense of the universal Church, and renouncing all errors and heresies contrary thereunto.

3. “That for their great consolation and edification, every Sunday before the service, there shall be read a chapter of the holy Scripture, of the Old and New Testament in French, according to the translations approved by the Church ; and that all the divine service which is performed in Latin shall be explained in French by the pastors of the Church.

4. “That they shall invoke no other besides God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

5. “That they shall not believe that it is necessary to salvation to have any other intercession and mediation, than that of our Lord Jesus Christ towards God the Father.

6. “That they shall not be obliged to render any divine honour to images which shall be in the Church.

7. “That they shall adore Jesus Christ in the eucharist, who is really, spiritually, and sacramentally contained in that adorable sacrament.

8. “That this consolation shall be given to the faithful, that they shall communicate in both kinds, & the universal Church shall think it convenient.

“ Done at Orange the 11th of Nov. 1685.”

“We James d’Obeilh, by the grace of God Bishop of Orange, Abbot and Count of Montfor, Counsellor of the King in all his councils, have admitted those who are countersigned, to the reunion of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, upon the conditions expressed in the eight articles above written.

Done at Orange this 13th of Nov. 1685.

“ John James, Bishop of Orange.”

The Representer may, I think, see in this example that he is outdone in his own way, and that there are in the world more mild and inoffensive representations of Popery than his own; and some provisions for saving the consciences of the Reformed, which himself has not made. But I would know of him whether he does believe that those who united themselves to the Roman Church with these cautions, can be reasonably judged to have proceeded with satisfaction in themselves, and about what they did: or rather, whether there be not all the signs that one can have in a thing of this nature, that being distressed between a troublesome conscience on the one hand, and Count Tesse's troops on the other, they capitulated as well as they could for their own quiet, and granted what they did, to be delivered from the soldiers; and no more than what they did, if by that means they might pacify their own minds. A very miserable case most certainly! And that which is yet more to be lamented is, that these things should be done by Christians upon Christians. Let the Representer take it into his serious consideration, and I believe it will be one of those things that he will always forget to put into the character of his Papist represented.

But why must the minds of men be racked in this manner? Why must they be brought under the most dangerous temptations to cheat themselves, and for the gaining of rest from outward miseries, to betray the tranquillity of their own consciences, and be constrained to play such tricks with them, as if one man should choose to put upon another, he would be accounted no better than a cunning knave? He that cannot see the true reason of this unmerciful dealing, and that too by this very example, can see but little. It is union, that is to say submission, to what they call the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, that must be by these means, or by any means carried on. This we meet with at the very head of the provisions, and again at the foot of them in the Bishop's certificate; nor are any of the Reformed to expect otherwise but that this shall be expressly insisted on.

But because the poor people knew that union to that Church carried dreadful things along with it, therefore they struggled, and it seems they gained one of the prettiest limitations of that union that ever was heard of, *viz.*: "To believe and to profess all the Christian and orthodox truths contained in the holy Scripture, which God had manifested to the prophets, apostles, and evangelists." But then this limitation would make the

union very insignificant : for thus one may be united to the Turk, *viz.* "to believe and to profess all the Christian and orthodox truths contained in the holy Scriptures." And therefore something must be added to that ; and certainly greater artifice on both sides shall seldom be seen than what is shewn in putting in these words, "after the manner which that Church does use ;" which may indifferently refer either to *re-uniting* or *believing*. The people may understand it of being united to the Roman Church, after the manner it uses, till the Bishop teaches them to understand it of believing the Christian truths of the Scripture, after the manner of that Church. And so by understanding the Scripture after the interpretation and sense of the universal Church, the Bishop has his meaning, and they have theirs as long as he will suffer them. The most jealous princes never treated more nicely for their honour than these poor Protestants did for their conscience, and their masters for the Church of Rome. And considering that they had but two hours allowed them to unite to the Roman Church, before the last extremity should be used upon refusal ; and that there were difficulties on both sides ; the Protestants consulted for their consciences as much as it was possible for men to do, who saw misery before them, which they had already so deeply tasted of, that their hearts were quite sunk with the apprehension of what was just coming. But is this dealing for the credit, I will not say of the managers, but of the cause they serve, and of the method that is now taken to serve it by expositions and representations ? Why, if no more sincerity were used in fairs and markets than this comes to in the concerns of everlasting salvation, men had better live alone and make what shift they can each one for himself, than to have any thing to do with one another. I was going to descant upon every one of the other seven articles ; but to shew the intrigue of them, though never so gravely, would look so like a farce, that I count it decent to forbear, lest I should seem to make sport with the sins and miseries of men. I shall only give the reader this note, that the relation only says there were "difficulties on both sides," but that by the wording of the conditions, it appears very probable that the citizens had brought them in another form when the capitulation began ; but that this was all they could obtain ; and now that they are reduced to this form, the sagacity and watchfulness of one side is no less discovered than of the other. But, O God, to what a pass is the state of religion brought amongst Christians !

I have here given the Representer an example of reconciling Protestants to the Church of Rome upon terms much after his own way, only it is something finer; though the application, I confess, was more rugged, the principality having felt the dragoons to the ruin of it; and the utmost extremities being threatened in two hours, in case of refusal to subscribe.

Thus much at least they gained, that they might not be obliged to go to mass for three months, nor to be present at the offices of the Church; which was a plain demonstration that these miserable persons had subscribed with an unsatisfied mind; and that union and submission was the thing aimed at by the reconcilers: but whether it was done upon the convictions of the citizens, what cared they? I can give no farther account of this matter, but shall only put the Representer in mind of one passage in the State of the Controversy,* which he cared not to reflect upon, *viz.* that after the Bishop of Meaux had treated of a reconciliation upon terms more moderate than his own Exposition, while the dragoons were at the gates; he came in three months, and treated them now as persons reconciled; and without any regard to his own promises, or to their consciences, let the dragoons loose upon those that refused to complete their conviction by going to mass. The Representer may, from all this, pick out some reason why he ought to be ashamed of his offer, that we shall be received upon the terms of his book.

4. I come next to his quotation of Mr. Montagu, from whence he would prove that the Church of England began too early to misrepresent Papists, to deserve now much credit in her representing. But what shall I call our Representer here? Not the modestest thing in nature;† for Mr. Montagu is most vilely abused by him, while he makes him bring in the Homilies as representing the Papists. That which he says of them is this: "That they contain certain godly and wholesome exhortations to move the people to honour and worship Almighty God, but not as the public dogmatical resolutions confirmed of the Church of England." And again: "They have not dogmatical positions or doctrines to be propugned and subscribed in all and every point, as the books of Articles and Common-Prayer have." Then follow the words which the Representer begins with, "They may seem, secondly, to speak somewhat too hardly, and stretch some sayings beyond the use and

* State, p. 23.

† Appello Cæsar. c. 23. p. 60, &c.

practice of the Church of England, both then and now ;" which last words the Representer mentions not, nor these that follow immediately : " And yet what they speak may receive a fair, or at least a tolerable construction and mitigation well enough. For you have read, peradventure, how strangely some of the ancientest Fathers do speak, and how they hyperbolize sometimes in some points in their popular sermons, which in dogmatical decisions they would not do, nor avow the doctrine by them delivered resolute."

Now the occasion of all this was, that Mr. Montagu was charged by his adversaries for granting an allowable use of images contrary to the Homilies of the Church of England in the sermon against the Peril of Idolatry, which seemeth to inveigh against all use of them. To this Mr. Montagu answered as before, producing the Homilies not as speaking of what the Papists do, or not do, but as universally condemning the use of images in churches.* And he gives this account of it more fully than I need to describe, *viz.* " That as the Fathers spake against images with some tartness and inveighing sort, lest the Christians, who had been Pagans themselves, and now lived amongst Pagans, might learn to worship idols. So our predecessors coming late out of Popery, and conversing with Papists, and knowing that images used to be crept unto, incensed, worshipped and adored amongst them, might, if they were suffered to stand as they did, induce them to do as they had sometime done ; and therefore in a godly zeal, such as moved Hezekiah to destroy the brazen serpent, they spake thus vehemently, and indeed hyperbolically against them. For the people with whom they then dealt, were by all means to be preserved from the taint and tincture of their superstitious practices."

This is the whole truth of the business, which the Representer did not think fit to shew, but without taking the least notice of the occasion and subject of this chapter, runs away with a few phrases, that he picked out from the rest, as best fit for his purpose ; such as " hyperbolizing," " stretching upon the tenters by all means," and the like ; and would make as if Mr. Montagu confessed the Church of England regarded not how she represented Papists and Popery : which wretched dealing is according to no common honesty but his own ; and whoever goes on at this rate will write himself out of all credit, and there will be no need of answering his books.

* P. 262.

It is to the same purpose that he brings in Mr. Montagu again, "not thinking it any reflection upon him if he does not altogether agree or subscribe to the doctrine of the book of Homilies in his time, because it being a book fitted for a season, and declared necessary for *these* times, what great wonder if what was a good doctrine under Edward VI. was not so in the time of King James," &c.* For thus he would persuade us that we alter and change our religion according to times and seasons, which is what we justly charge upon them. The compilers of the Homilies and Mr. Montagu meant the same thing, which this man may shew a fault in, when he can, *viz.* that more care is necessary at some times to secure people from image-worship than at others, though our religion, which will not allow us to worship images, be the same at all times. If he thinks that the Homilies stretch their hyperboles too far, let him compare them with what Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Minutius Felix, and other ancients say of the same subject, and then tell us more of his mind. But since, as Mr. Montagu judiciously observed, their severe reflections against all use of images whatsoever are to be interpreted by the danger of being seduced to idolatry, which the Christians were in at those times; so may the less hyperbolizing of our Homilies bear a good construction with reference to these times, in which we are sure images are worshipped by certain people that the Representer can tell of, with no less devotion than the Pagans worshipped theirs.

The reader, I hope, will now excuse me, for taking no more notice of his protesting against the distinction of old and new Popery, his declaring that their belief is always the same, and his lamentable complaints that we are misrepresenters, and that we "rake together some odd opinions out of private authors, &c., that the heads upon which our representing stands are so many fallacies and sophistry," &c.† For if a man, after the particulars of his book have been particularly answered, will still betake himself to general outcries, and make as if he intended to go on in this way as long as he lives, he ought to know at last, that he may do so without any more disturbance, and that nobody will go about to answer him.

And so I come to consider his Reflections upon the View of the whole Controversy, with the Answer to his last Reply. It seems the Stater, as he observes, "had so good an opinion of it,

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* Pref. p. 19.

† Pref. p. 20, 21.

that he thought it would put an end to the controversy." The Representer says that he is almost of the same mind. And I say that I am altogether of the same mind. And so there is one thing in which we do all of us almost agree.

But why is the Representer almost of that mind? "Because the Answerer had said so little to that long bill which was drawn up against the members of his Church, wherein the crime of misrepresenting is laid to their charge (Pref. p. 22.); that, besides what he confesses, the very guilt appears so plainly in the forced excuses he makes for the rest, that there is little need of any more besides reading his Defence, to see how far they are from being innocent."

So that, by his own confession, he brought in a long bill against some of our Church, wherein the crime of misrepresenting is laid to their charge. And the truth is, it was long enough, considering that it had neither truth nor pertinence, as it was particularly shewn him in the Answer to his last Reply.

For I must add, that the Answerer brought in a longer Answer, of about twenty-eight pages, to the particulars of the Representer's bill, not omitting any one charge upon any one of our authors, where there was direction to the passage by page or chapter.

And I do assure the reader, that those six or seven lines of his which I transcribed just now out of his Preface, is all the reply that he has given to that Answer. And I desire the reader to remember and consider, that that tedious charge of his, the defence of which he now so visibly forsakes, was manifestly brought in to supply the place of defending his thirty-seven points of representation, nay, and of defending his very pretences for forsaking them: and yet that now, at last, he forsakes the defence of those imputations upon particular authors, by which he hoped to divert the reader from an expectation of replies pertinent to his first undertaking.

Now, therefore, I apply myself to the Representer, and desire him to take as much notice of what I say as if there was a finger against it in the margin: that because he was so very modest as not to offer the least particular reply to those answers to his charge, therefore his continuing that charge is the greater impudence.

With all my soul, I wish that the gentlemen of the Church of Rome would employ other sort of men to write against us; for this man carries on the controversy, not only to the dis-

paragement of their cause in particular; but to the discredit of religion in general.

But since I have such a countenance to deal with, I must not think to let even those six lines go without some particular answers to them: for though he can, with a good grace, drop his own challenges and undertakings one after another, and, as he once said, "gravely turn over" I know not how many pages of ours, without offering a word to any one particular that he finds there, and never change countenance for the matter; yet we are to watch every line of his, and, unless we intend to have another book from him, we must prove that the sun sets before midnight, if he should happen to deny it.

He pretends that his Answerer said so little to his long bill, &c. What should I say to this? Should I print over again here the twenty-eight pages which were taken up in refuting those cavils of the Representer? or is it not enough, that I do now forbid him to make any replies to the particulars of that Answer?

He pretends that the Answerer confessed something, "Besides what he confesses," says he: so that, if he may be believed, the Answerer has confessed that some of those whom he mentions have misrepresented the Church of Rome. But this is adding sin to sin; for he confessed no such thing, and I will add, that he had no cause to confess it.

These words indeed I find in the Answer: "Did ever either of his adversaries undertake to justify all that any Protestant divine or historian has at any time said in opposition to Popery? or, was it not possible to give a more honest account of Popery than he did, without such an undertaking?" And again: "Though it be no part of our business to bring off every thing that has been said or done by Protestants, yet I shall a little examine what our Representer has charged those with whom he has singled out to expose them to the world. For my own part, where his accusations, in whole or in part, fall justly, there they shall lie for me, nor will I make another man's fault my own, by going about to defend it."

But is this confessing that misrepresentation was proved upon any one author that was charged with it? The Answerer, it seems, was resolved, as became him, never to wrangle either for a friend or against an enemy: and he found in the long bill one or two silly sayings of Protestants, which this man calls misrepresentations; for instance, a very weak inference of Sutcliff's, from as weak a proposition of Aquinas. For this

reason the Answerer thought fit to declare, that he would not justify what he thought was to be blamed. But if this man was resolved to call what he pleased a misrepresentation of his Church, by his leave he should have asked the Answerer, whether he would call it so too, before it was lawful for him to bring in the Answerer confessing I know not what of our misrepresenting the Church of Rome? For my own part, I am resolved, that, if any particular authors of ours have, in any one point, misrepresented Popery in the least degree, I will not do it for company, nor defend those that have done it. But I am not a little pleased to find, that when the Representer forsook the defence of his thirty-seven chapters, and diverted to the business of transcribing all those Protestant authors where he hoped to find some instances of our misrepresenting, he should yet come in with so lamentable an account on his part, and not be able to produce any one clear instance to support his charge.

When I had read his charge, I was somewhat amazed that, considering how much has been written against the errors of the Church of Rome since the Reformation, by men of different abilities, he should not have been able to make better work of his last impertinent design than he did; and it will be, to all impartial judges, an argument that the several writers of our Church have, upon the whole matter, observed a strange exactness of truth in charging the Church of Rome, when this man was able to produce no more than he did for a colour to excuse us of the contrary.

But what do we think the Representer concludes, in another place, from the Answerer's declaring, beforehand, that he will not be answerable for every thing that has been said or done in opposition to Popery? "Why," says he, "then it seems there are now some Protestants that charge more upon the Papists than can be well brought off or justified, and some Protestants are accused justly, and not to be defended without partaking of their fault."* What, of misrepresenting the Church of Rome! But the Answerer did by no means confess that he had brought any pertinent instances of that. There may be such for aught I know, and if there are, let them bear it, as I said before; but, as I say now, the Protestants have been very honest and careful as to this business of representing, or surely we should have had one or two clear instances of the

contrary from this good friend of ours, unless we should say it is all one to him whether his instances be good or bad, because he has a certain quality that will make them do whether they will or not, which I believe will be acknowledged by every one that considers those words of his which immediately follow : " If this had been as freely owned at first, we had excused a great deal of pains and paper, for I had never gone about to prove that Protestants misrepresent Papists, if the first Replier had thus ingenuously confessed that charge ;* and because it was not owned, I therefore found myself obliged to take some pains about it, that is, in my long bill that was drawn up," &c.†

Well ! he has now done his worst ; for the next stretch beyond this will break him. I confess that the Answerer did ingenuously declare against abetting any man's misrepresentations ; but that he did ~~ingenuously~~ confess that charge against the authors that were produced, is what I hope no man living this day, excepting the Representer only, will have the face to say. He, I know, took some pains to prove the charge, and the Answerer took a little pains too about the business ; but surely he was as much beside himself, as sometimes I would, for charity's sake, imagine the Representer to be, if he was all the while ingenuously confessing it ; for I verily thought, and do think still, that he was all the while plainly and honestly confuting it.

But because, upon this occasion, I would be glad to understand with what caution a man must write that has to do with one of the Representer's constitution, I have severely examined what occasion this man should pretend for the liberty he takes. I find that, as to one or two instances, the Answerer acknowledged a fault where the charge was laid, but he did not confess that it was misrepresentation. Sutcliff's was the plainest, whose inference from Aquinas he acknowledged to be very silly. But as to all the rest, he shewed that the Representer's charge was either false or very foolish ; and that this man was, for the most part, an egregious misrepresenter in using those authors of ours as he did. So that it is Sutcliff's case that must bring in the Answerer for that same ingenuous confession ; and the reader is bound to believe, that if we had at first confessed that Sutcliff made a silly inference from as silly a principle of Aquinas, here had been a great deal of paper and pains excused, and this man had never gone about to prove that Protestants misrepresent Papists.

* Page 26.

† Page 22.

And yet, after all, his first Answerer would not undertake for all that any Protestants had said of Popery, but appealed to the public and established doctrine of the Church of England.*

Lastly, he pretends, in those six leaves, that, "besides what the Answerer confessed, guilt appears plainly in the forced excuses he made for the rest." Now, if he made but forced excuses for them, he had, I confess, done a great deal better to follow the Representer's example, who, when some Popish authors were charged for most vile and scandalous reports of us and our religion, was so very prudent as to make no excuses at all for them.

Which gives me occasion to say here, what the true reason was of the Answerer's putting together these few instances how we have been used by those of the Roman Church. We hoped this, at least, from the Representer's first book, that it would occasion such a clear and perfect stating of the questions between us and the Church of Rome, that the people of both communions would be well prepared to understand afterwards the pertinence of the several arguments and answers that should be brought on either side; nor could any man of sense and honesty imagine that his book was good for any thing else but to lead to that. With this purpose the learned author of the "Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome truly represented" complied in his Answer to the Representer. But it was none of the Representer's designs that people should know the true state of the controversy, but that they should believe his representations; and therefore he has ever since, by one wile after another, declined closing with his Answerer, and at last by raking for instances of Protestant misrepresenters. This design he largely pursued in his long bill. The author of the View having shewn him that he was foully to blame in charging even those Protestant writers whom he singled out, took a course to divert him for the future from this wild and unprofitable way of proceeding, and that by letting him see, that, if he was resolved to persist in this way, he would lose by it, since he would not be able to excuse his own from those faults which he had without just cause charged upon our men. And so he shewed, by a few instances, how Protestants had been used by Papists. Now one would have thought, that at least he should have reinforced his charge upon our men, and defended his own against the Answerer, if he was still resolved to continue his

* Doctr. and Pract. of the Ch. of R. p. 9, &c.

clamours of misrepresentation. But what has he done? He has taken about a year's time to consider of the matter, and at last replies not to any one defence that had been made for those whom he has put into his long bill, and does not offer the least syllable for one of those that the Answerer had put into his short one. I confess, he says, that the Answerer made but forced excuses for our friends. Now, as the Representor has behaved himself, I think my credit may be good enough to encounter his. I say, therefore, that the Answerer made no forced excuses, because, for the most part, there were no excuses at all, but downright vindications: and as for the excuses that are there, if there be any such, I do not desire the reader to take my word for them, if he will promise not to take the Representor's neither, but to go to the View, and judge for himself.

After all, the Representor is to be commended for one thing, that he says the Answerer "drew him back to his first book—in reality to put a stop to this part of the controversy, and that we might hear no further of the Church of England's misrepresenting." For though he meant this to the Answerer's disgrace, yet it is true that this was one part of his design, for he saw the Representor was got upon an idle haunt, and therefore shewed him that it would turn to no better account for him than anybody else. But this was not all; for the Answerer would have drawn him to his first book, that he might either like an able man defend his characters, or like an honest man confess that he could not; which had been something towards the settlement of the state of the several questions. Though I think they must be acknowledged to be well settled by the learned Answerer that first appeared against him, since the Representor dares not go about to stir them. But whereas he thinks, he was fetched up to his first book, under a pretence of shewing him that he had dropped his cause and gone out of the way. I confess all that too, excepting the word *pretence*; for his Answerer did the business so effectually, that I forbid the Representor so much as to pretend to vindicate himself against those plain and particular proofs of this thing that were brought against him. For that he is well resolved against any such pretence is plain to me from the similitude wherewith he has fortified himself against all thoughts of anything like a reply to the View. "For," says he, "this is nothing but what we see by daily experience, that when two have been debating a point a great while, at length one that finds himself

aground begins to unravel the whole dispute from the beginning, with you said this, and I said this; and then you said this, and I said this, and you said this."* I hope the reader will not so much as suspect that I have abused him in this; but if he thinks it incredible that a man in his wits should put such silly stuff in a book, I cannot help it if he takes him to be out of his wits; but as for these sayings, I am sure he may find them in the preface to his third Part; and though the pages are not numbered, he may find them in that page to which I have referred in the margin, if he will please to number them himself.

And after all, he would not have it thought that he is afraid to go back as far as to the "Papist misrepresented and represented;"† which he does for a notable reason, *viz.* to give us an account once more of his design in writing that book, and of his motive to it. His design was to describe a Catholic as he is, and as he is thought to be.‡ His motive was an observation of his, that his Catholics suffered much by Protestant misrepresentations.

But that which follows is rare, that he did not think himself obliged to give an account of both his characters to Protestants. Indeed, as for the character of a Papist misrepresented, he looked upon that as something relating to them. "But as for that of a Papist represented, it belouged not to Protestants to meddle with that at all, but only to his pretended Catholics. "For," says he, "to whom should the examination of a system of any one's faith belong, besides those whose faith it is said to be?" I thank him heartily. It seems we are to take from him a system of Popery, without examining whether it be (as he speaks) exact and true, or not: and the reason is plain, because as yet it is not our faith, and therefore the examination of it belongs not to us. But when we are become Papists upon his terms, then if we please we may examine* whether it was wisely or foolishly done of us, to take a system of the Popish faith upon his word. And therefore he could not be obliged to justify his character of a Papist represented, after we had shewn it was not a sincere character, because we meddle with a matter that belonged not to us, and was none of our concern.

But for one thing we are not a little beholden to him, that though in truth we are busy where we had nothing to do, *viz.*

* Pref. p. 23.

† P. 23.

‡ P. 24.

in the first, second, and third answers to him, yet he mended the matter for us, by looking upon those answers as chiefly relating to the character of a Papist misrepresented, in which he confesses we had something to do. So that, though those answers chiefly related to one as we thought, yet he did but look upon them, and forthwith they chiefly related to the other. And so care is taken for the character of a Papist represented.

We will go to the other character presently, when I have given him a necessary item upon this great occasion, *viz.* that when he draws any more double characters, he would take very great care that his Papist misrepresented be drawn very honestly, that we may the more easily swallow what he says of a Papist represented; lest if we find, as hitherto we have done, that he plays tricks in a business that does belong to us to examine, we should have the less reason to take his word for a business that doth not belong to us to examine till we have taken his word for it.

And now for the other character; he observed, it seems, that the answers "appeared to be all from the Church of England hands, who seemed much concerned to clear themselves from being thought misrepresenters;" and, therefore, they denied the charge, which, as he says, was part of their plea. But, therefore, it might be expected, that he should either make good his characters against the Church of England men, or hold his hand till some other Protestants came forth to clear themselves, who had misrepresented Popery, just as he pretended some Protestants at least to have done. But being resolved to write on, and not being able to fasten any of his first misrepresentations upon the Church of England, he fell to ransack some Protestant writers of our communion for new misrepresentations. And so the misrepresenting side of his characters was left to shift for itself as well as the other.

But why were not his first characters of a Papist misrepresented, either proved against us, or charged upon somebody else, or confessed to be impertinent and foolish, as the second Answer shewed most of them to be? What excuse has he for troubling the world with a book of two columns, neither of which he thought it his duty to defend? Why, he tells you, "that he fathered not the character of a Papist misrepresented upon the Church of England, but upon his own *apprehensions*."* So that he wrote half a book against his own appre-

hensions ; and as long as he was sure that his own apprehensions would not write against him, he was secure also that he should never be obliged to defend his character of a Papist misrepresented against anybody, and therefore not against the Church of England.

Indeed, he tells us, some time after, that he “ set down some former apprehensions of his own concerning Popery, with some little addition of what he had heard from others.”*

And again : “ I said, that character was according to the apprehensions I had formerly of a Papist—and if I extended it any farther than myself, it was because I had found the same in others.”† But he is as secure from being called to account by those others, as by his former apprehensions. For if those others be somebody, they must needs be ashamed to appear in this business ; nor do I think they are capable of writing books, who charge the consequences of what the Papists hold and do upon them, as their declared and avowed doctrines and practices. But if those others be nobody, then there is nobody to hurt him. He understood his advantage in all this perfectly well. “ For,” says he, “ this,” *i. e.* that he had heard the same from others, “ was no more to be denied or disproved than the other part, as it related to himself. It is enough,” says he, “ for my purpose, that in the misrepresenting character, a Papist is expressed and made to appear otherwise than he is, and that I apprehended a Papist something after that manner while I was a Protestant. When this is disproved, I have something to answer, but till then I can have forsaken no defence, because nothing has been said against me,” &c. If this man can forbear disproving himself, all the world cannot touch him, whatever he makes bold to write. But let him alone, and he will in time do his own business as he has begun to do it here. For now he tells us that he apprehended a Papist something after that manner. *Something* is a dangerous word in this place. For if he did not apprehend a Papist altogether, or very much after that manner, I wonder who is to answer for the rest. For I reckon that his *something*, and the little addition he heard from others, will hardly save all his characters from being an imposture, if we judge of it by his own words,

“ But,” says he, “ what then signifies all the noise of my having forsaken the defence of the thirty-seven chapters in my first book ?”‡ I know not truly what else it should signify but

* P. 26.

† P. 27.

‡ P. 25.

an undeniable truth that he has forsaken it. For he has forsaken the defence of the Papist represented, because that belonged not to us to meddle with, but only to his Catholics. And he has forsaken the Papist misrepresented too, for though this character something related to us, as he once thought, yet upon better consideration, that belonged to us no more than that other, but only to his own apprehensions, and to some others in the clouds, that are never likely to give him any disturbance.

Well ; but he has shewn however that the Church of England has misrepresented Papists, though perhaps not according to his first characters of a Papist misrepresented. Now though this be a charge which we might be concerned upon other accounts to confess against those particular men that are arraigned by him, or to disprove it : yet still it remains true, that he has forsaken the defence of both sides of his thirty-seven chapters, as the author of the View has unanswerably proved : and in his wretched way of shifting it off, he has confessed it as much to his shame, as a plain confession of it had been something for his credit. But then I add, that neither is it true that he has proved his new charge of misrepresentation, either upon the Church of England or upon the Church of England men. For his saying that the author of the View “seemed to give up the point, and that he freely owned it,” and the like, is a stretch beyond what is at any time done for money. For the world sees, that on the other hand, that author pretended to shew that the man was in this also an egregious misrepresenter of our writers. And one would think it was done effectually : for the man has dropped also the defence of that his last charge against the particular answers that were made to it ; just as he dropped all before, only with this addition of face now, that the author of the View had freely owned it, and ingenuously confessed it.

If this answer of mine should fall into the hands of any of our communion, that have not read these Reflections, I must once more confess myself a little afraid, lest they should think I banter him in this account of his shuffling off one thing after another. And therefore I do solemnly assure the reader, that he does not say these things once only, but he comes over with them again. And because it is an extraordinary case, I must transcribe him ; and first where he speaks of his character of a Papist misrepresented.

“Well,” says he, “but in so doing,” *i. e.* in proving his new charge of misrepresentation, “I left it seems the defence of

the thirty-seven chapters. How so? As to the first character in all these chapters, I only undertook to set down some former apprehensions of my own concerning Popery, with some little addition of what I had heard from others. Now what had I to defend in this? Could any one say I had not such apprehensions; or, that formerly while a Protestant, I had not such notions and thoughts of the Papists and of their religion wrought in me by what I had heard from the pulpit and other ways? And if this neither was nor could be pretended, what had I to defend in that character throughout the thirty-seven chapters?"

Then as to the second character. "What defence," says he, "have I forsaken there?—I undertook to give an account of my religion as I was taught it.—The religion there delivered is the Popery I was taught; there is expressed the Papist; I then was at the penning that character, and now am. And this I suppose nobody has disproved yet, and so I have forsaken no defence of it." So that this character was written too according to his own apprehensions: and unless a man can prove that he had not those apprehensions of Popery, since he became a Papist, and when he wrote his characters, it is to no more purpose to write against this representing character, than it is to write against the misrepresenting character, unless one could prove that he had not those other apprehensions of Popery, when he was a Protestant. Never was a man so secure against being confuted. I do not wonder at his confidence at all, for he has reason for it, and such as I believe no man ever found out before him. And I expect that in his next book he should with no little triumph tell the reader, that I confess him to be invincible.

But I must not forget that other reason, *viz.* of this chapter not belonging to Protestants to examine. He says, "If there was any thing faulty in this, I expected to hear of it from Catholics, for whilst I pretend to deliver their faith, who shall judge whether it was right or wrong but they?" And at this rate he goes on for almost two pages together, concluding that "the current passing of the book, and general reception of it without exception," *i. e.* among Papists, "was enough to warrant the doctrine for authentic."

And now he had nothing to account for, but forsaking the defence of his reasons for that Popery which he owned. For the truth is, he forsook all, as the View undeniably shewed. Only there is one quality which God grant he may forsake, but I fear he never will. I will not give it the name here, but

leave the reader to do that, when I have given one more instance from our Representer of the thing. "And so," says he, "at last it is here confessed that the doctrines are rightly proposed, and that I have duly represented a Catholic, but that I made no defence of the reasons." He had before brought in the author of the View as freely owning and ingenuously confessing the charge of misrepresentation. And now at last to make one side hang even with the other, he brings him in confessing that he had duly represented a Catholic too. This man has considered Machiavel's rule, that he that will thrive by left-hand ways, must never look towards the right one.

Well, he tells us now for a close, that he has not been short of any thing he undertook. Not of any thing? What is then to be said for forsaking the reasons; the defence of the reasons? Why he has a trick for that too, and because it cannot be mended, the old one shall serve the turn. Says he, "Since I only engaged to set down some of the reasons which hold men in that (the Roman) communion, it is plain I did all only by way of proposal or historically, and till somebody has demonstrated that these are not some of the reasons which hold men in that communion, I have no defence to make, and so can have forsaken none." That is to say, his business was not to set down reasons, and make them good afterward, if any body should be so cross as to set upon them, but his business was to shew some reasons for his doctrine, such as they are held by, but whether they were good reasons or bad reasons, what was that to us?

At last we have a reason why he was not for disputing, *viz.* because nothing has been offered in that kind by an adversary, but what has been answered by Catholics five hundred times over. Now five hundred is a good round even number, and he was loth to make it irregular by adding one more to it; for then it must have been said henceforward, that we had been answered five hundred and one times over. This I take to be as good a reason as any we have had from him yet, or are like to have from him in haste.

To come to a conclusion: he began with his double characters, and forsook the defence of them.

He gave us reasons and reflections, and he forsook them too.

He made a fanatic sermon, and great defiance there was about it; but the sermon was undertaken, and we hear no more of the sermon.

He tried what was to be done by drawing up a new charge of misrepresentation upon some Protestant writers. The charge was answered; and he takes no farther care of that charge; if it will stand upon its first legs, well and good: if not, what cares he?

The author of the View gave him a sample of some Popish misrepresentations of us and our religion. And he does not offer so much as to excuse them, no not by a word.

What is to be done next?

Even let us once more begin the world again, with fifteen new chapters of a "Papist misrepresented and represented;" for the worst is past, we may speed better next time; but it is impossible for us to come off more shamefully than we have done already.

A REPLY TO THE VINDICATOR'S FULL ANSWER.

THE Vindicator* has expressed some contempt of the Defender's last book. If I had been in his case, it had been some temptation upon me to do the like: and therefore I will not aggravate this matter against him.

Some anger also is expressed, for being told by the author of the Discourse concerning Extreme Unction, that the Bishop of Meaux and he might now go and put words together; especially because another year was given them. I perceive he scorns to have it thought, that he either needs the Bishop of Meaux's help, or a year's time to put words together. And so about a month after the Second Defence, out comes a Full Answer of his own.

As for the Bishop, the Vindicator has said nothing for him: and I think the Bishop is beholden to him for it, who is in this one thing happy, that his Vindicator has left him to shift for himself.

When I saw a sheet and half come forth for a Full Answer to the Second Defence, I presently understood the man's meaning to be, that the Defence had little or nothing in it. For some such thing as this the Defender insinuated of the Representer's last book, by calling his postscript, a full answer to it. But now the Representer has been answered more largely in the foregoing part, and therefore we might expect in honour a more full answer than this sheet and half to the Second

Defence. But we expect no such thing for all that : for though as the world goes, some men are forced to say much against nothing, yet others finding it very painful to say much for nothing, have had the face to call half-sheets, and such things Full Answers to such books, as if their more learned predecessors were now alive, they would have given us, we are apt to think, what weight they had, and at least equal measure in return for them.

To this Full Answer * of his I intend to give a reply more full than his answer is, which slips over many considerations in the Defender's book, for which I am sure he cannot pretend, in the Representer's strain, that they have been answered five hundred times over.

He "declares once for all, that he is resolved not to let any of the Defender's pretended proofs escape, or any thing that looks like a solid answer pass unsatisfied." Which declaration was the more fit to be made once for all, because it would trouble a man's conscience again to make it the second time ; or at least it would startle the reader as often as it was made.

But in pursuit of this intention as he says, and it may be to make good his own title of a Full Answer, he falls in the first place upon the Defender's title-page ; where he would have had the book called "A free Confession of the Matter of Fact in all the Vindicator's Exceptions." The Defender, I am sure, neither pretended to prove nor to answer in his title-page. But they are often busy where no need is, who are idle where their business lies. However, I shall remember this, and desire to know what there is in the book to make it deserve the title of a "free Confession," &c.

In the meantime I observe, that he and the Representer are agreed to rid their hands of this controversy, by affirming now at last, that we freely confess something or other which they have all this while laboured in vain to prove.

But before I have done with this Full Answer of his, I may perhaps convince them both, that they did not lay their heads long enough together ; and that while they were agreeing what to make us confess, they forgot a more material point, and that was, now in so great a strait as the representing controversy was reduced to, to agree in what they should confess themselves.

The first part of the Defence which he pretends to answer is

the Historical Vindication of the distinction between old and new Popery. For the Defender observing how much that distinction was disliked by this man, told him, "that he found it in effect made to his hand in some of the Bishop of Meaux's own converts,* and in books that are said to have undergone his particular perusal before they were permitted to come into the world."

But the Vindicator declares, that in the proof of this, when he came to examine it, he found nothing to the purpose; which is more than I shall say of his exceptions to it, for I think something will be found in them to our purpose, how little soever there may be to his own.

The first instance of the converts is Monsieur Brueys, who vehemently exhorted the Protestants to return to the Roman communion by this argument, that the doctrine of the Church was so expounded as none of their forefathers understood it. Of which, and much more to the same purpose, the Vindicator says, "I stand in need of your spectacles, Sir, to see how he (Monsieur Brueys) proves that there was new and old Popery any where, but in the conceit of our adversaries, their forefathers, as he calls them." Which certainly is none of the wisest answers that ever was made, because it grants a new and old Popery somewhere, though it be not so honest as to confess it where it is. Because he was resolved not to find it where M. Brueys did, and where it is to be found, he would find it where it never was, *viz.* in the conceit of our forefathers. But neither does M. Brueys' arguing suppose that our forefathers had any such conceit, but the quite contrary, nor is it in itself true that they had; for there was no such distinction going on in their days, nor occasion for it. The reason why our forefathers never understood Popery as it is now understood by M. Brueys and the new converts is, because the Bishop of Meaux's forefathers never explained it as it is explained now by him, and some few others that have taken the hint from him. And this new exposition must have made a new Popery according to that gentleman, because the whole force of his argument to persuade his old friends to turn Papists lies evidently in that.

He says, indeed, "that if their Protestant forefathers had believed things to be as in effect they were, and are now proposed, they would never have separated from the communion

of the Church." In which words I acknowledge that he lessens the difference between the former and later expositions of Popery as much as ever he can; which no man will wonder at who considers that he is a convert. But it is plain that he makes the difference to be the reason why on the one side their forefathers went off from the Church of Rome, and why on the other side themselves ought now to return to it. And this I am sure is in effect to confess an old and a new Popery; and not only a more clear and intelligible way of expounding the very same things, which the Bishop of Meaux has got above all that were before him: unless the Vindicator will say that their forefathers, as well as ours, were so stupid that they could not see either the one what doctrines they held, or the other what they rejected; but were still playing at blind-man's-buff about notions which they could not make one another understand, because they were not able to express them as they ought to have been expressed; which I am confident Monsieur Brueys will never say, and perhaps not the Vindicator neither; though without saying it, he must, in spite of his heart, find a new and old Popery acknowledged by that gentleman, and that there was no occasion for that distinction till these happy days of ours.

But for the Vindicator to find in M. Brueys' words a new and old Popery charged upon the conceits of our forefathers, is so very ridiculous, and utterly inconsistent with his argument to persuade us to put matters into the same state in which they were before, by reuniting to the Church of Rome; that any one may see he was hard put to it to make this testimony nothing to the purpose, because, rather than fail, he would make nonsense of that gentleman's arguing, where his purpose is as clear, and his sense as intelligible, as a man would desire it to be.

He answers next to what was observed again from Father Crasset; but we will consider what belongs to him by itself, and in the meantime go on with the converts.

The next produced was Monsieur Ranchin, who confessed a new Popery more boldly and roundly than Monsieur Brueys did. The Vindicator therefore slurs off his testimony with saying only this: "the Defender has shewn what credit such a person's authority is, who weighed things so little, as to sell his religion for money and preferments."*

But this is not so easily to be set aside: for if he sold his religion, as there is too great reason to fear he did, yet his testimony to the distinction between old and new Popery is a very good one, and an unanswerable proof of what the Defender said, that the distinction was not of his own making, but that in effect he found it made to his hands amongst the Bishop of Meaux's converts.

Men often change their religion for worldly interests; but I think they never say so, and that because they would still keep their credit. For which reason, if they pretend such motives to the change they have made as are matters of fact easy to be judged of, they will not be so careless of their reputation as to pretend those things which the world can bear witness against. Therefore since M. Ranchin laid his change upon the great difference between old and new Popery, there is no reason to question, but whether this was the principal cause of his conversion or not, yet such a difference was commonly believed: nay, and that the alteration in the Bishop of Meaux's way of expounding Popery from what had been in former times, and from the belief and practice of the Tartuffs and the people that now are, was indeed notorious. For otherwise he had taken a better way for his reputation to pretend that he had been convinced by old or by new arguments of the truth of that doctrine, which the Church of Rome constantly and universally held, than to say that he was enlightened by a new exposition no less needful for the saving of Catholics than for the conversion of Protestants. For whether such an exposition made any notable difference in doctrine from what went for Popery before, is a matter that they can easily discern, who perhaps are not so good judges of a disputation for Popery or against it. If therefore Monsieur Ranchin was as careful of his credit as he was solicitous for means to live like a person of quality, he no doubt was very sure that the world was sufficiently aware of a notable difference between the old Popery of the Church of Rome and the new Popery of the Bishop of Meaux: and it was frivolously done of the Vindicator to refuse his testimony, because the Defender was afraid his worldly interests had too great an influence in the change.

Really if these men serve their new converts in this fashion, it will mightily discourage them. They have sweetened and gilded Popery for them to make it go down the better; and yet they will not allow them to say what it was that made

them swallow it with little or no straining. Though ease, honour, and wealth did effectually determine them, yet they should be permitted to tell their friends what made the change somewhat easy, *viz.* that which these men designed should do it: or else our English Representatives and Vindicators may spoil their market here before they have well begun to bid for converts. And this inconvenience may presently follow, that those who have yielded to them upon new terms will begin to suspect that their instructors mean to bring them into the condition of the Tartuffs and the people in due time, since they will neither themselves acknowledge that there is such a difference, nor so much as suffer their converts to make any words of it, but fall to reproaching them when they do so.

The same reply may serve to the Vindicator's exception against Mr. Pawlet,* who, "because he made his conscience comply with his interest, is no fit man to be brought in as one of the Defender's witnesses for such an odious accusation." So says the Vindicator. But Mr. Pawlet was not the less fit man for that; for although insincerity does by no means qualify a man to be a witness, yet there are cases in which the testimony of an insincere man cannot reasonably be refused; that is, when his interest does manifestly oblige him to speak the truth. Such is the present case: for had there been no good ground for this distinction between old and new Popery, as these men would now persuade us there is not, Mr. Pawlet, by using that distinction could not but know, that instead of covering his own insincerity, he had more openly exposed himself for a knave.

He calls this charge of an old and a new Popery an "odious accusation," as the distinction itself but little before was "that odious distinction."† But he forgets that this distinction, as odious as it is, is used by those of his own communion, and who being converts, their testimony is so much the more remarkable. They cannot be presumed to distinguish thus for the prejudice of their converters, nor to make the distinction a matter of accusation against them, as the Vindicator very poorly insinuates. They use it to defend themselves against the expostulations of those whom they have forsaken; and the nature of their defence implies not only that they believe what they say in this case, but that they had reason to believe it. For if it were altogether a dream of theirs or ours,

* P. 4.

† P. 4.

that there are two sorts of Popery in the communion of the Roman Church, they might as well have defended their revolt, by pretending that the Church of Rome requires not the veneration of images, or the invocation of saints, in any sense at all, or any other such thing as notoriously false as that would be.

As to the inhabitants of Montauban, that became converts too upon Monsieur de Meaux's principles, he says, "That their acknowledgment is no convincing proof that there was truly an old and new Popery, excepting in their imaginations." But their testimony, and the former testimonies, are I hope a convincing proof, that the Defender did not make this distinction, but that it was in effect made to his hand even by the Bishop of Meaux's converts: which is the thing this man should have spoken to, but that every man's case will not bear pertinence in his answers.

But I have shewn him by the way, that these testimonies are a terrible argument of the thing, and that there is cause for such a distinction as this, which, before I have done, I shall make as evident as the cause of another thing is, *viz.* why the Vindicator is not able to bear the mention of it.

His harping upon the odiousness of this distinction and of this accusation, does but give us just occasion to say, that because it was necessary in these times for some of them to bring in a new Popery, they must needs count it an odious thing in us to put them in mind of the old one.

But it seems that if we had said nothing of it, they had been little the nearer; for the converts themselves have proclaimed the odious business; who, although they were to be seduced by the inviting appearance of a new Popery, and some other new Popery motives, not altogether so sweet and gentle, were not yet to be so far trusted with the secret of this affair, as to be told that they must conceal it from the world.

These men, no doubt, could have wished, that the converts and we had kept their counsel, and left them to be the first discoverers of it, after that happy work was done every where, which they call conversion. If they expected this, it was a vain presumption. But whatever they imagined at first, they cannot endure to be told now, that the trick was invented too late, and discovered too soon to do all those wonders which they designed by it. And so much for the vindication of the distinction of old and new Popery by the testimony of the converts.

The Defender touched upon Monsieur Imbert's story, which also clearly shewed the same distinction going amongst Romanists themselves, before the Defender insisted upon it.

The only question, as to the evidence of this instance, is, whether M. Imbert was oppressed by his diocesan the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, for following Monsieur de Meaux's Exposition, in declaring that not the wood of the cross, but Jesus Christ who suffered upon it, was to be adored in the Good-Friday service. The proof that has been made of this is so good, that the Vindicator denies not the fact, but contents himself not to confess it. He says indeed, "The Bishop tells of extravagancies committed in the Church by Monsieur Imbert; and I suppose, if it were worth while, he could prove them to you." But, in conscience, was it not worth while to prove, or at least to name them, and to say what they were? Was it not M. Imbert, who, in his letter to the Bishop of Meaux, appealed to the process against him, and defied "his enemies to reproach him for his life and manners, or for any other doctrine than that of his Lordship?"* Did he not publish a factum of his case all to the same purpose? And can any other reason be given why it is not confuted in the face of the world, but because it cannot? Sure I am, that if it could have been done, the Bishop might with less pain have disproved it, than it hath cost him from time to time to shuffle it off, in which labour he has so visibly added insincerity to insincerity. Can the Vindicator think, that it was not worth while for the Bishop to defend his reputation against his inferior, as Monsieur Imbert indeed is? But the Bishop is now brought upon the stage of the world for this matter, and I must tell his Vindicator, that Imbert being not only the Bishop's inferior, but a man oppressed too by the authority of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, the Bishop of Meaux's friend; the world does more undoubtedly believe, that he delivered nothing but plain truth in his factum, because if he had in the least swerved from it, he had thereby exposed himself yet more to the power of that greatness which oppressed him, to add to his sufferings now with some colour of justice. Whatever was at first insinuated by the Bishop, it now appears that Imbert was no fool, unless in believing that the Bishop was in good earnest in his Exposition. But the world will forgive him that, when it will, not so easily forgive the Expositor.

* Defence of Exp. p. 126.

What should I say more? the Vindicator himself has in effect acknowledged, that it was worth while to make the pretended extravagancies of the unfortunate Imbert appear: for he confesses that the severe reflections which the Defender makes against the proceedings of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, are made justly enough, if Imbert said the whole truth, and nothing but the truth: which is as much as to say, that it was worth while to shew, that the world ought not to think so severely of the Archbishop, as it certainly would if Imbert were believed. But the Vindicator's consequence is as absurd as possible, that "this will make unbiassed persons think, that Imbert was not just in the delivery of the matter:" for because one story is good till another is told, unbiassed persons must think that Imbert was very just in the relation; since it so nearly concerned the Archbishop to have it disproved, and yet he never went about it. As for the Bishop of Meaux, it concerned him much more, who has not only forsaken this poor man, that suffers for nothing but conforming to the Bishop's Exposition, but has also endeavoured to take away his good name; and without offering any colour of proof, has added reproaches to his other afflictions.

In short, the Bishop has, in all appearance, said for himself what he is able. But the pretended extravagancies are yet to be named; unless the Vindicator will insist upon that, for which the Defender has brought Cardinal Capisucchi, to acquit Monsieur Imbert and to condemn the Bishop: which I desire the reader to take special notice of, in the answer to the Bishop of Meaux's letter, p. 41, 42. But I forbid the Vindicator ever to say one word about it, or to offer the least reply to what I add concerning it: that it is such a blot to his Bishop, and to his expounding design, as will stick upon them, till they are so happy as to be forgotten.

But the Vindicator was so sensible of the evidence of Imbert's story, that he thought fit to make an *if* of the main part of it, and so to speak to the supposition. "If the curate," saith he, "cried out as Imbert accuses him, *The wood, the wood*, he was as much in the wrong as yourself," meaning the Defender: that is, the curate mistook the meaning of the Church, as much as the Defender did. But the Vindicator should have gone on thus: And *if* the Archbishop of Bourdeaux caused process to be made against Imbert for crying out *Not the wood, but Jesus Christ*; then the Archbishop mistook the meaning of the Church as much as the curate. And *if* the

Bishop of Meaux abetted the Archbishop and forsook Imbert, he was more to blame than either the curate or the Archbishop ; not indeed for mistaking, but for betraying the pretended doctrine of the Church, which he had so publicly owned before.

Now to inquire by what authority the Vindicator pronounced the curate to be in the wrong, since the Archbishop of Bourdeaux thought Imbert to be in the wrong, and the curate in the right : this at least is enough for the Defender, that there are two sorts of Popery amongst them, as to this matter of adoring the cross : one, that of the curate and the Archbishop ; another, that of Imbert and the Vindicator ; between both which, the Bishop of Meaux hath, by this unhappy accident, been constrained to play fast and loose. Here, therefore, if I had the Representer's talent, I might cry out, " Where is the calumny ? Where is the misrepresentation ? Where is the falsehood in charging the Church of Rome with two sorts of Popery, when the matter of fact is so evident, that process has been issued out by the old Popery against the new in the proceedings of the Archbishop against Imbert ? "

But the Vindicator says, that the curate was in the wrong, for crying out, " the wood, the wood ; " and whatever the Bishop of Meaux himself says, his Exposition must say what the Vindicator does. But now poor Imbert said the same. And yet though they all agree in saying the same thing ; such is the hard fate of some above others ; the Bishop and his Vindicator flourish and are applauded, for saying what Imbert said ; but Imbert suffers for saying no other thing than what the Bishop's Exposition said before him, and his Vindicator after him.

Upon which no unbiassed man can reflect, but he must acknowledge, not only that there is a new and old Popery amongst them ; but withal, that the new one is set up for nothing but to decoy us into the old one. For let the Vindicator tell me, why Imbert has been so severely treated for saying that the curate was in the wrong, but that he seemed to be in good earnest, and in truth would not have the wood to be adored. And if others say the same thing, and are yet approved, what other reason can be given for the difference, but that they are understood to be in jest, as to the matter which they affirm, and in earnest only, as to the end they aim at ; which is, in good time, to make us adorers of the wood, according to the strain of old and true Popery. The Exposition was framed to catch Protestants : it was Imbert's mistake, to think it designed for the reformation of Papists. For

which reason, Monsieur Ranchin would be advised to have a care how he talks of the Exposition being no less needful for the instruction of the Catholics, than of the Reformed.

The Defender said, that Imbert's case was enough to clear him from the charge of calumny and falsification, in that account he gave of their Good-Friday service ; and in translating those words, *Ecce lignum crucis, venite adoremus*. Behold the wood of the cross ; come, let us adore it. " For," says the Defender, " not only the curate, but the Archbishop thought there was no calumny in it : " and he would not be so uncharitable as to wish the Vindicator the like conviction of it, that Imbert has met with. But since this man goes on still to cry calumny and falsification, I may without breach of charity wish Monsieur Imbert out of durance, and the Vindicator in his room, who without question would get out again presently.

The Vindicator says, " that the false translation is so manifest, that he needs not make any more words of it." I say, if there were nothing to justify the Defender's translation, but the antiphone itself in its full length, that were enough. " Behold the wood of the cross, upon which the Saviour of the world did hang : come, let us adore." Adore what ? " It," says the Defender ; " Him," says the Vindicator. Now in common sense the choir invite one another to adore that which the priest shews them with a *behold*. Surely he that should say, behold a house by the woodside ; come, let us go in : or, behold a dinner upon the table ; come, let us eat : or, behold Virgil amongst the poets ; come, let us read ; would take it ill to be understood of any thing, but going into that house, or eating of that dinner, or reading of that book. But if indeed there were any thing in that service to oblige a man to depart from the common construction, as to those words, and to apply the adoration not to the wood which the people are called to behold, but to him that suffered upon the cross, whom they cannot behold, then the Defender would be in an ill case. But if the rubric upon this occasion does expressly make the wood the object of adoration, then the Vindicator is in a worse case, who has both the natural construction of the words, and the circumstances of the place against him.

Once more, therefore, and but once, the reader shall by some part of the rubric judge of the modesty of this man ; and the Vindicator shall have the pleasure of imagining all the while what the reader must think of him.

" Afterwards," *i.e.* after thrice singing of the antiphone, and

the prostrations of all upon thrice shewing the cross, "the priest alone bears the cross to the place prepared for it, before the altar, and kneeling, he lays it there. By and by putting off his shoes, he comes to *adore the cross*, thrice bending his knees before he kisses it.—After a while the ministers of the altar, and then other clerks and laics, with thrice bended knees, as was now said, *adore the cross*.* In the mean time, while the *adoration of the cross* is made, the expostulations and other hymns are sung which follow, either all or some of them, as the greater or lesser number of adorers requireth." One of the antiphones sung in common is that which begins, *We adore thy cross, O Lord*. And to make all sure, the rubric that closes this ceremony, and passes to other things, begins thus: "Towards the end of the *adoration of the cross*, the candles are lighted upon the altar," &c.

Yet, says the Vindicator, "let us adore it, is a false translation; nay, it is so manifest, that he needs not make any more words of it." That it is not false as to the sense, is so manifest both by the antiphone and the rubric; nor as to the words by the use of our English, which requires the repetition of the thing by a pronoun, more than the Latin does: this, I say, is so manifest, that I will never make any more words about it with the Vindicator, or any one else in his behalf.

And this is the old standing Popery of the Roman Missal; by which any body may see that the curate had reason to cry out, "the wood, the wood;" and the Vindicator none, to say, that the curate was in the wrong, unless by the help of that odious distinction, which indeed will set all right: for the curate was in the wrong as to new Popery, but very much in the right, with respect to the old.

The Defender again justified his distinction by The wholesome Advices of the blessed Virgin to her indiscreet Worshippers, and by the fate which that book met with. For those Advices did not only of themselves intimate that there were some in the Church of Rome who needed them, but by the opposition that was made against it, they shewed too, that there were some practices condemned there, which the prevailing part of the Roman Church could not bear the condemnation of. The Vindicator indeed would make us believe that the Church is not to answer for the extravagancies condemned in those Advices, "because she has always taken care to instruct the people better."† But he regards not what he says. I pray what care

* Missale Rom. Feria VI. in Parasc. [p. 184, 185. Par. 1739.]

† P. 5.

did she take to instruct them better, when Monsieur Widenfelt, who took a little honest care about it, was served as Father Crasset assures us he was ; when the Holy See condemned him, when Spain banished him, and forbade the reading and printing of his book ; and, in a word, when the learned of all nations were said to condemn him ; and all this but for advising the people better ? The Vindicator calls this a scandalous insinuation, and says, that the Defender knows it to be such, and talks as if he had proved it, without saying a word where he has done so. And yet Father Crasset published it no longer ago than in the year 1679, in the preface to his “*La veritable Devotion*,” &c. What shall we do with this man, who grows rude when he has nothing to say to the argument, and will have us to speak against our consciences, when he either does so himself, or talks of things without knowledge ?

He says, “the Defender has given us in another place, it may be through forgetfulness, a short answer to this. : They who oppose that book of wholesome advices, are not therefore enemies to every one of those particulars.” But how is this an answer to it ? For they must oppose it for something or other that Monsieur de Meaux is bound to answer for. For Monsieur Widenfelt allows as much to the blessed Virgin as Monsieur de Meaux does ; and Monsieur de Meaux would be thought to deny all that Widenfelt denies to her. When Crasset is at leisure to tell us what those particulars are, which he, and the Pope, and the learned of all nations do condemn, we shall then know more particularly, what we are undoubtedly assured of in the general, *viz.* that Crasset brings the universal Church against the Exposition of the Bishop of Meaux : for I say it again, Monsieur Widenfelt allows as much honour to the blessed Virgin as the Bishop’s Exposition does.

The consequence of all this is clear, if the Bishop has expounded Popery to us, as they say he has ; and if for all that, the Bishop’s Exposition be, as Father Crasset assures us Widenfelt’s Advices are, an outrage to the whole Church ; then of necessity there must be two Poperies among them, and these not only different from, but outrageously contrary to one another.

And here I will take notice of the Vindicator’s exception to Crasset’s testimony for an old Popery. “Father Crasset,” says he, “is again brought upon the stage, for defending what he himself does not acknowledge to be an article of our faith, and therefore belongs not to what you call Popery at all.”

This man would fain say something, if he knew what. Does nothing then belong to Popery at all, which Father Crasset

does not acknowledge to be an article of faith? I am somewhat sure that Father Crasset will not acknowledge it to be an article of faith, that no more honour is to be given to the Virgin than what Monsieur Widenfelt, or Monsieur de Meaux allow to be given to her; nay, instead of defending, we are very sure, that he has opposed that doctrine. And does not the Bishop's Exposition of the Catholic faith, in this point, belong to Popery at all?

But letting this pass at present, Father Crasset defends in gross what Widenfelt condemns, and does withal defend it as the doctrine of the universal Church, to what he took Widenfelt's book to be an outrage. And if Crasset believes what he defends, not only to belong to Popery, but to be the true and genuine Popery of the Church, this man hurts himself, and not us, by doing all he can to prove that Crasset's doctrine cannot belong to Popery at all. This is what we say, that some of them call that Popery, which others deny to be so, and that what was heretofore universally maintained as Popery, and is so maintained by the most considerable, as well as the most numerous party of the Roman Church now, is by some others that we have to do with, rejected, as not belonging to Popery at all. Which makes good what the Defender said, that "it is not in our calumnies, that this reflecting distinction is to be found, but in the real disagreement of those of their own communion."

But because these men are always flying to the Church's sense, to make them and the old Papists one, though all the world sees that they are divided about this question, "What is Popery?" therefore the Defender was desirous to know "what at last this thing called the Church's sense is, and how we may come to the knowledge of it."

To both parts of this question, the Vindicator condescended, though with some frowning, to return an answer.

"First," saith he, "the Church's sense in our case, is that which she delivers as a doctrine of faith, or a necessary practice."* I should be too troublesome to him, to ask upon this occasion, what he should mean by these words, "In our case," and by some other expressions that occur in the interpretations of this answer. I shall therefore take his answer without any exception to it; that "the Church's sense, in our case, is what she delivers as a doctrine of faith, or a necessary practice."

But how shall we come to the knowledge of this sense? To this he answers : " By the voice of the Church, in her general and approved Councils, and by her universally practising such things as necessary ;"* that is to say,

1. We are to know what she delivers as a doctrine of faith, by her voice in her general and approved Councils.

2. We are to know what she delivers as a necessary practice, by her universally practising such things as necessary.

This I take to be his meaning, and to these two particulars some little I have to say, with the Vindicator's good leave. And first of the former.

I. Where I desire him not to take it ill, if I ask him one question or two, with some under questions which cannot be spared ; for if he has no mind to answer them, he may let it alone. The question is this :

" Whether there be no way to know what the Church delivers as a doctrine of faith, but by her voice in her general and approved Councils ?"

The reason of the question is this, because if there be another way, and if the gentlemen of the old Popery should chance to prove their doctrine to be the Church's sense that way, the Vindicator will be at a loss again, and the sense of the Church in Council will do him little service in those points, where, it may be, Councils are silent, if the sense of the Church out of Council be plainly and loudly against him and his party.

If the Vindicator then should say, that though the Church has a sense of doctrines of faith out of Council ; yet that sense cannot, or at least is never delivered but by her voice in General Councils ; then I have one other question to put, which will break out into a few more, but which he who hath considered these things very well, will make no difficulty to answer.

This question is, " How the Church's sense came to be known concerning doctrines of faith, before any general and approved Councils delivered them for such ?"

Which question will appear to be a very reasonable one, if he will please to read these that follow.

1. Whether doctrines of faith be not the same now that they were from the beginning?

2. Whether the sense of the Church concerning these doctrines has not been always the same?

3. Whether the Church therefore had not the same sense of them, before they were delivered by her voice in general and approved Councils, that she had afterwards? Or, whether she had one sense, and delivered another? And then, as I said at first ;

4. If she had the same sense before it was so delivered, that she had when she delivered it, and after she delivered it; how came that sense to be known before ?

This, I think, is plain enough ; but if it be not, I will try to make it plainer. Therefore,

1. We say with the Romanist, "that it is a doctrine of faith, that the Son is of the same substance with the Father." But this doctrine was never delivered in a general and approved Council, before the first Council of Nice ; as it was impossible it should, because that was the first general Council. I would know of the Vindicator, whether the Church's sense concerning that doctrine, was not to be known before, and how it was to be known ?

2. The Romanists say, that it is a doctrine of faith, that "in the eucharist, the substance of the bread is turned into the substance of Christ's body, and the substance of the wine into the substance of his blood." But this was never delivered in any pretended general and approved Council, as we are very sure, before the Council of Lateran, under Innocent III. I would know of the Vindicator, whether the Church had the same sense of this transubstantiation before that Lateran Council, which it is said to have had since? and whether that sense of the Church was known? and if so, then how it was known ?

I have given the Vindicator two instances, one of a doctrine of faith, for which we contend no less than the Roman Church ; and as we think, to better purpose : another of a doctrine which that Church says is of faith, though we say, it destroys all faith ; and these two in behalf of all that are real, and of all that are by them pretended to be doctrines of faith. For till I am better informed by the Vindicator in answer to the foresaid questions, I say of all the doctrines of both kinds, that there should be some way to come to the Church's sense about these things, before she delivered her sense of them in the voice of general and approved Councils.

This I shall presume, till he acquaints me otherwise ; and if he does not yet understand which way these questions drive, I will now tell him. Let him keep to his principles, and shew

me, by what way the Church's sense came to be known concerning doctrines of faith, before they were delivered by the voice of general and approved Councils; and then let him leave it to me, to shew him by the same way, that old Popery, as we call it, has been the sense of the Church of Rome, till these expounding and representing days of ours: nay, and that Father Crasset shall prove by the same way, that it is now the sense of the Roman Church, whatever some few men of that communion may pretend to the contrary.

And when I have done this, the Vindicator shall by me be never contradicted; while he on the other side proves the sense of the Church to be quite different from what Father Crasset in his way proves to be so: for most undoubtedly he thereby does our work for us, and enables us to prove, that there must of necessity be two Church senses betwixt them, and consequently two sorts of Popery, an old Popery, and a new Popery.

Whereas therefore the Vindicator says, "till you can prove by the express words of a general approved Council, that what you term old Popery was delivered as a doctrine of faith—all you say will avail nothing." I would be glad to know what the Vindicator would have said in behalf of transubstantiation, to some such men as Rabanus Maurus, or Bertram, or Berengarius, if he had lived in their times, and they should have said to him (though I think in my conscience none of them would have talked so insipidly), "Till you can prove by the express words of a general approved Council, that what you term the Catholic faith concerning Christ's presence in the eucharist, was delivered as a doctrine of faith, all you say will avail nothing." Here I will not allow that the Vindicator should bring in the doctors and saints of the Church, who might be pretended to bear testimony to the Church's sense in this point: for he has foreclosed himself as to this relief, and that by giving the Defender a notable reason, why all he can say will avail him nothing, if he brings not the express words of a Council. *For, says he, "you bring only the sentiments of private men, which other members of the same Church condemn."

I have urged this matter further than I intended at first, for I meant not to press for answers to the foregoing questions with much importunity. And now I say no more, than that I shall take it very kindly of the Vindicator, if he will please to admit these things into his consideration, and enlighten me with his thoughts about them.

II. I proceed in the second place to suppose a very strange thing, for fear the Vindicator should affirm it; and that is, that nothing is to be taken for the sense of the Church as to doctrines of faith, but what she declares by her voice in general approved Councils. For if we take the cause by this handle, the distinction between old and new Popery will I believe go on as roundly as it did before: and some inconvenience too will follow in the close, to trouble the Vindicator no less than this odious distinction between old and new Popery.

Because I would lead him fairly to the business, I ask him in the first place, whether his Church hath delivered her sense concerning those two points, which he mentions upon this occasion, by her voice in general and approved Councils, or whether she has not? The two points are the doctrine of the invocation of saints, and the doctrine of worshipping images.

If she has not done it, then in the Church of Rome there can be no doctrine concerning these two things, which can be called a doctrine of faith. The Vindicator therefore will say, I hope, that she has delivered her sense by her voice.

And so I ask him in the second place, whether by the doctrine which the Church delivers, he understands only so many words put together, and not rather the sense of those words, which the voice of the Church uses, that is, which her general and approved Councils have put together to express their meaning by? This is a question which the Vindicator must needs understand, because I do in effect but borrow it of his friends: for the like question has been often put to us by them, and particularly by his good friend the Representer, and it may be, by himself, *viz.* whether by the Scriptures we understand the words or the sense? So say I, by the doctrines of faith which the Vindicator says are delivered by the voice of the Church in her general Councils, does he mean the sense, or the words only of her Councils? I will for once answer for him, that he means the sense, which is contained under the words.

I ask him, therefore, the third time, whether the sense of those words which the general Councils have put together be not, as he says, "what truly we ought to mean by Popery?"* If I may be bold to answer for him once more, he must needs grant it. For if the Church's doctrine of faith be the same with the sense of her general Councils; and if that which we ought to call

Popery, and to mean by Popery, be the Church's doctrine of faith, it will go very hard if Popery be not the sense of her general Councils.

And now the odious distinction clears up apace in going this way to work. For if that part of Popery which is made by doctrines of faith be neither more nor less than the sense of general Councils concerning such doctrines as we Protestants disclaim, it follows presently that the sense of those Councils is what we ought to call Popery. And therefore,

1. I humbly conceive, that if there be two parties in the Church of Rome that are not agreed what the sense of her general Councils is, it follows out of hand that so far they are not agreed about Popery; and that for this very good reason, because the sense of her general Councils and the faith part of Popery, according to him, is all one, and indeed but two expressions of the same thing.

2. It follows also, that in what sense soever either of those parties takes the words of the Church's Councils, that sense is, and must necessarily be that party's Popery; because the sense of her Councils being Popery, that which is to one party the sense of her Councils must likewise be Popery to that party.

3. If, therefore, one of those parties takes the words of her Councils in one sense, and another takes the same words in a contradictory sense; then because the sense in which the former takes those words is the Popery of or to that party, and the sense of the latter is its Popery; it unavoidably follows, that there are two pretended Poperies betwixt those two parties, which are inconsistent with one another.

4. If the sense of one of these parties was that which prevailed without control ever since the Council of Trent, till very lately, and the sense of the other party is therefore but of yesterday; then of these two Poperies, the former must needs be the old Popery, and the latter the new Popery.

5. So much reason as we have to believe the old Popery to be the true sense of the Church's Councils rather than the new one; so much reason also we have to believe that the old Popery is the true Popery, and the new to be but an imposture, or a mistake of those of the Roman Church that have of late brought it up.

6. And, lastly, if Protestants did not make those different senses for them, but each party in that Church made them for themselves, then this distinction of an old and a new Popery is

no misrepresentation, falsification, or calumny of Protestants, but a distinction grounded upon the real disagreement of Papists about Popery. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

But I think that men were never put to it as we are, to make solemn proof of things that are so evident, that they need not to be proved at all.

The Council of Trent determines, that "we are to fly to the prayers, the help, and the assistance of the saints." If we would know the Council's sense in this matter, the old ones will tell us, that the meaning is, we should have recourse to them for other aids besides their prayers. And as one would verily take this for the meaning from the construction of the words themselves; so the terms of invoking the saints which were then used in their offices, and still are so, do manifestly favour that interpretation. But our new expositors come and tell us, that they require no other aid and assistance from the saints than their prayers; and the Vindicator intimates, that if they did, we should have something to say against the lawfulness of what they practise. If Popery, therefore, be not so much the words of the Council, in which I acknowledge they all agree, as the sense of the Council, in which they do not agree, how is it possible but that here are two Poperies in this matter advanced amongst themselves one against the other.

Again, the Council of Trent affirms, that "due honour and veneration is to be given to images." And therefore what one party in that Church takes to be that due honour is Popery to them, because it is the sense of the Church to that party. And what another believes to be so, is their Popery. And here I am sure if we find a harmony, it is made up all of discords. Indeed one would have thought, that the Council, by due honour and veneration, had meant that worship which was at that time given to images in the Roman Church; which their offices required, and for which their most celebrated writers had contended. And this way of coming to the sense of the Council, must lead a man to the Popery of giving the same honour to the image, that is due to the prototype, or at least an inferior honour, by which the image might be said to be truly and properly worshipped. For the former sense, Cardinal Capisucchi does at this day earnestly contend, and very fairly argues it against all opposers from the words of the Council. But the Bishop of Meaux, and the Representer, and the Vindicator, are as cross to that sense as downright contradiction can make them. They say, "that in presence of

images respect is paid to the persons whom they represent ; but images themselves are not to be worshipped. No, God forbid : but only used to put us in mind of the original."* Thus they explicate the language, *i. e.* give us the sense of their Church in her decisions of faith ; but so, I dare say, as it was never explicated before.

However, if these gentlemen believe the sense of the Council to be as they say, I wonder how it comes to pass, that the Vindicator should not acknowledge it to be Popery. For he must not forget, that Popery is the sense of the Church, which she delivers by her voice in Councils, and therefore that the sense of the Council's words is truly Popery. And consequently, what he and his party take to be their sense, they must in spite of their hearts confess to be their Popery, unless they care not how inconsistently they talk. And then I would ask the Vindicator whether it be possible to reconcile his and the Bishop's sense with Cardinal Capisucchi's, and those of his way.

The truth is, the Vindicator has given up the cause ; for by saying, that we "bring only the private sentiments of men, which other members of the same Church condemn," he confesses, that they do in these things condemn one another ; which perfectly acquits us from the charge of misrepresenting them, when we say, that there are two sorts of Popery amongst them ; by which, we never meant anything else, than that one party of them, and that the greater, does earnestly contend that that is Popery which the other utterly disclaims, and does therefore set up another sense of their Councils, and their public offices opposite to that of the former.

As for his calling the sentiments of the opposite party private sentiments. If he means that they keep their persuasions to themselves, and do not trouble the Church with them, he is to know, that as the men are not private, but of great note and authority in the Roman Church, and the number of their followers far more considerable than of theirs who condemn them ; so their sentiments are not private neither, but as public as disputing for them, and censuring and punishing their opposers can make them.

But if I understand him by private sentiments, he means the sentiments of men out of Council ; so that no measure is to be taken of the doctrine of their Church, by what is delivered

* See Second Def. p. 31, 32, &c.

by such men, though they be bishops or cardinals, and their number never so great, and their declarations never so public and notorious, and their censures never so sharp against those that oppose them ; for still they are but the private sentiments of men out of Council.

Why then must the Representers, or the Vindicators, or even his Lordship the Bishop of Meaux's sentiments concerning the doctrine of the Church, go for any other than the private sentiments of men ? For their expositions have been neither made nor approved in General Councils. Must Cardinal Capisucchi, the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, and Father Crasset, with his holy bishops and learned doctors, nay, and with the learned of all nations, be said to deliver only the sentiments of private men ; whilst a few teachers that arose in this age, whose party is despicable, who labour under the marks of insincerity, whose doctrine being professed in good earnest, is persecuted by that Church, whose faith it is said to be ; whilst those men, I say, must be thought to deliver the true and genuine doctrine of the Church ?

But if neither the one side nor the other side delivers the sense of the Church, who knows what the sense of the Church is, and how shall I come by it ? The Vindicator directs me to the express words of general and approved Councils. But then I must needs ask them, who is to be judge of the sense of those express words ? I see express words indeed, and I am very apt to think that I do understand the sense of plain and express words. But if I may be allowed to understand express words, why can I not as well understand such words in the Scriptures as in their Councils ? For the words of the Scripture seem to me to be very expressly against many things that are held in the Church of Rome. And here I have been told, that this is not the sense of the Scripture, but my private sense ; that the Scripture is a dead letter till the Church's interpretation gives it life and sense ; that private judgment is fallible, and therefore not to be relied upon ; that the same places seem to be express to one man for this thing, and to another man for that thing : that so many private heads as there are, so many Bibles there will be ; that after all our assurance, that we understand plain and express texts of Scripture, there is no certainty to be had, but by submitting to authority and receiving doctrines of faith, not from the Scripture, but from the Church.

Well, I submit to the Church, and ask, where, or by whom

she delivers her sense concerning doctrines of faith? *Answ.* By her voice in her general and approved Councils. But where is that voice to be heard? *Answ.* In the express words of those Councils. I go, therefore, to those Councils. God help them that cannot. Here, indeed, I find express words, if a man could but tell how to come to the sense of them; for I thought myself very sure of the meaning of express words of Scripture. But it seems I was mistaken then. What assurance have I that I am not mistaken now? For express words are but as express words in the Councils, as they are in the Scriptures. And if my sense of such words in the Scriptures was but a private sense before, my sense also of such words in the Councils is no more now. And, therefore, if I must trust to my own private sense, I shall be sorely tempted to go back again, and to make as good a shift as I can, with my private sense and the Scriptures together, rather than follow those who tell me my private sense is not to be trusted, and yet leave me to it at last.

For when all is done, the Church's sense, according to this man, is a mere notion of a thing that is no where to be found; for the several senses of her words in Council, are but the sentiments of private men; which this man opposes to the sense of the Church, to save his Church from two Poperies. For instance, if I go to Cardinal Capisucchi and his party, to ask them what the Church's sense is, of that "due honour and veneration that is to be given to holy images," they tell me the very same that is given to the persons represented by them. But what am I the nearer? for this is but the sentiment of private men. I go to ask the Bishop of Meaux and his party, and they cry "God forbid, the Church requires no such thing." But I conceive his sentiment is as private as the Cardinal's; and so is everybody's else that I can speak to; and, which is worst of all, I must not judge between these different parties which of them speaks the Church's sense, because I am that way infallibly thrown upon my own sentiments, which are as private as can be.

In this state there being no Council sitting, I have no living judge upon earth to help me, and I am sure I must not be a living judge for myself; so that I have no oracle to go to, but a few dead letters which cannot speak; and I have no reason to expect, whilst I am doubting whether the words mean Capisucchi's or de Meaux's sense, that the letters should disappear, and other letters rise in the room of them, and make

words plain enough to end the dispute. And therefore I think we must do as the Vindicator gives leave, and suspend our judgment, at least, till the sitting of the next general and approved Council that shall be called to interpret the last. Though I do not see how that could end the controversy; because the words of that Council too must be interpreted by private sense, and so to the world's end; till Councils have found out a way to determine controversies of faith, without any words at all. There is, I confess, one way left to come to a certainty of the Church's sense, if we had it, and but one; and that is, for everybody to be infallible; for by the same reason that they would take us off from the Scriptures, we have not any security by Councils, unless we had an infallible spirit to interpret; and then, I fancy, there would be no need of Councils at all; for an infallible way of interpreting the Scriptures will excuse any man's dependence upon Councils that has it.

Now after these men have vilified the private use of the Scriptures, and have in effect made nothing of them, for this child of the Church to come now at last, in his distress, and make as little of general Councils, is a just infatuation upon him. Who does not see that to get off the two Poperies which are so notorious, he will allow nothing to be Popery but the very express words of their Council? which, indeed, have a sense that this man calls the Church's sense; but then you are to ask nobody what that sense is; for whoever he is that you ask, he gives you but his own sense or his private sentiment. And at this rate, I confess, it will be impossible to find out two Poperies in the Church; because Popery is nothing but the Church's sense. But then you will not be able to find so much as one Popery in the Church, and that, it may be, the Vindicator never thought of. For whilst everybody gives his own sense to the words of the Council, as they say every one of us does to the words of the Scripture, indeed no man can be certain that the Church's sense is not reached by any of the private sentiments of men; but who has had the good luck to reach it, the Lord knows; for it is a happiness, which no man that has it, can certainly say that he has. And therefore, by that trick which serves him to keep two Poperies out of the Church, he has unawares thrown out all Popery, excepting that dead Popery that lies buried in the words of general and approved Councils.

Thus speaking of that which we term old Popery, and his

parties condemning it, he says, "So long as there is such a dispute betwixt them whom the Church acknowledges to be her children, and she does not determine it, any one may hold which side they please as an opinion, or suspend their judgment : but neither side is truly what you ought to mean by Popery."*

So that it is neither Popery to worship images with the same worship that is due to what they represent, nor is it Popery to worship them with a worship that is not the same ; nor is it Popery to worship them as it were not at all. And therefore the children of the Church may hold which side they please as an opinion ; they may with Cardinal Capisucchi be of the opinion that Monsicur de Meaux's doctrine concerning due honour and veneration savours of heresy, and they may with Monsieur de Meaux be of the opinion, that Capisucchi's doctrine savours of idolatry. And they that are of the former opinion may yet with the Cardinal approve the Bishop's Exposition ; and they that are of the latter opinion, may with the Bishop say, "that the Cardinal, in his treatise about images, had said nothing in the whole that contradicteth the Bishop." In short, we may take due honour and veneration, in this sense or in that sense, or in any sense wherein any of the children of the Church understand it, or if you please, no sense whatsoever : for you may suspend your judgment. And if the Vindicator be in the right, "that what he has said in this case is applicable to all others ;" Protestants, without believing one doctrine of faith more than they do already, may be said to have as much doctrinal Popery as the members of the Romish Church itself.

I would have the Vindicator think of these things, and before he sends us again to the express words of his General Councils, to consider how his friends have used the Scriptures and us for making them the rule of faith.

We do not pretend to find in express words of their general Councils, every thing which we call old Popery ; but we find it in the profession of the prevailing part even of the present Roman Church, and in its oppressing those that seem in good earnest to be of another mind. And as we may without blame call that Popery, or the sense of their Church, which themselves call so ; so we cannot be reproved for saying, that their Popery seems to be the true and genuine Popery, because it agrees vastly better with the express words of their Councils, than the Popery of our modern expositors and representers.

But yet for calling this Popery, the Vindicator calls the Defender a misrepresenter ; a misrepresenter and a calumniator too ; a misrepresenter, a falsifier, and a calumniator.*

Thus he lays about him, without fear or wit, and hurts himself more than his adversary. For his bad language does furnish me with a proof that there are two Poperies amongst them, which the dullest apprehension will feel, and the finest shall not be able to distinguish away.

To take the Vindicator's instance once more. Here in England I make bold to say, that worshipping images and crucifixes with the same worship that is due to the person represented, is Popery. And for this, by an authentic Papist I am called a misrepresenter, a falsifier, and a calumniator too : which are hard words, and I would not willingly deserve them. I would therefore know what is the sincere Popery in this case ; and I am told, that images are not properly to be worshipped, but the persons represented only, in presence of their images. I stand corrected, and desire to know what rule I am to go by in judging what Popery is in all other doctrines, that I may not be mistaken again as I was before. The Vindicator tells me, that what I can prove from the express words of the Church's Councils, and what they have positively defined and declared, that is Popery as to doctrines of faith, and nothing else. Well, I am now furnished for a journey into France, or Spain, or Italy, because now I know what Popery is, as a man ought to do that ventures into those parts. There, for instance, at Seville, or at Bourdeaux, I am apt to talk as other foolish men have done before me. Crucifixes, say I, are upon no account whatsoever to be honoured with divine worship ; Images, say I, are not properly to be worshipped : no, God forbid. The Church requires it not, and so forth. But I soon find that this English Popery (for so I must now call it) does not agree with those climates, and that my propositions are heretical there, and since the definition of the Council of Trent, intolerable. I pretend truly that I had my Popery from a man that admits nothing for Popery but what is proved from the express words of Councils. They laugh at me, and assure me, that my propositions are to be found in Councils, neither in express words, nor by any good consequence. I desire to know if my propositions be contrary to the express words of Councils. They tell me, that they are contrary to the sense of the Council of Trent ; and I find, that

unless I could shew where the Council does expressly define against what they call Popery, I shall have but little comfort of insisting upon my English rule, that nothing is Popery but what is expressly defined in Council. For at Seville I am forced to retract my propositions as heretical, and at Bourdeaux I am imprisoned; and because I am not a man of renown, my Lord the Bishop of Meaux will not break with his friend the Archbishop for so small a matter as the ruin of a man of no renown. And this I get by learning Popery from the English Vindicator of the French Expositor. Now if this be not as clear demonstration of two Poperies as any difference in the world needs to have, a man must be forsaken of his reason, and bereft of his senses. For if I say this thing is Popery here in England, I am a misrepresenter, a falsifier, and a calumniator too. If I go into a warmer sun, and say in the simplicity of my heart, concerning the very same thing, that it is not Popery there, I am a misrepresenter, a falsifier, and a calumniator too, for saying so: and, which is somewhat worse, if I do but hold my own, they will not only say that I am a misrepresenter, but they will use me like one too, or rather like a heretic.

Now if on the other side a man has but apprehension enough to understand when one thing contradicts another; as for example, that to say of a certain doctrine concerning image-worship, that it is Popery, is a contradiction to saying of the very same doctrine, that it is not Popery, and that the contrary is Popery: and if, on the other side, he has sense enough to understand when he is railed at by those that say it is not Popery, for saying that it is; and worse than railed at by those that say it is Popery, for saying that it is not: I will give the Vindicator leave to write a book as big as Aquinas's *Summs*, and as full of subtlety, to prove to the same man, or to any man else, that for all this there are not two Poperies among Papists.

This of image-worship is the case about which the Vindicator called the Defender all to naught; and concludes with this remarkable saying: "What I have said in this case is applicable to all others." With all my heart, for so say I too: "What I have said in this case, is applicable to all others," *viz.* where we pretend this distinction to hold between old and new Popery.

I should now leave this point, but that he still insists with an unparalleled confidence, that the Defender is a false translator of that passage in the Council of Trent, which concerns relics.

I shall therefore once more go our fallible way to work, to vindicate his translation, and thereby to shew from the express words of the Council of Trent, that the old Popery was, "to seek the aid of relics."

The Council* having established the invocation of saints, proceeded also to establish the veneration of relics, in these words: "That the holy bodies of the holy martyrs, and of others who live with Christ, which were the living members of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Ghost, and to be raised up by him to eternal life, and glorified, are to be venerated by the faithful; by which benefits are from God bestowed upon men."

"Ita ut affirmantes sanctorum reliquiis, venerationem atque honorem non deberi, vel eas aliaque sacra monumenta à fidelibus inutiliter honorari; atque eorum opis impetrandæ causâ sanctorum memorias frustra frequentari, omnino damnandos esse."

"So that they who affirm veneration and honour not to be due to the relics of the saints, or that those and other sacred monuments are unprofitably honoured by the faithful; and that for the obtaining of *their* help, the memories of the saints are in vain frequented, are to be condemned."

This is a literal translation; and I say, that by *their* help we are to understand the help of relics and other monuments; not as the Vindicator would have it, of the saints. To put some colour upon his own translation, he inverted the order of the words, as the Defender accused him, and he has said nothing to it. But their help must be the help of relics and monuments, because otherwise the construction of the Latin is false, and against rule. For had the Council meant what the Vindicator says, the words must have run thus.

"Vel eas aliaque sacra monumenta inutiliter honorari; atque sanctorum opis impetrandæ causâ, eorum memorias frustra frequentari."

"Or that those and other sacred monuments are unprofitably honoured; and that for the obtaining of the help of the saints, their memories are in vain frequented."

The relative *eorum* had this way been determined to the saints; and so it had been placed, if that had been the meaning; because otherwise *eorum* would, according to the rules of Latin construction, fall to the share of *monumenta*; and this though *eorum* does by chance agree in number and gender

* Sess. 6.

with *sanctorum* that comes afterward ; but which comes out of place there, for *eorum* to be referred to it, because this relative had a very good antecedent of its own before. This therefore I say, that he who translates a Latin sentence according to true Latin construction, is no false translator, but a true one ; especially if that sentence be part of a work where the Latin is every where else very good, and that sense which the construction makes, agrees with all that is in connexion. And, 1. it agrees very well with the mention of those many benefits which relics are said to be the means of. And, 2. It holds the difference between the matter of this period, and that of the foregoing one, much better than the Vindicator's sense does. For he would have help of the saints to be mentioned here : but let him observe, that this was abundantly taken care for in the provision that went immediately before ; and therefore if it were indifferent, as it is not, which way the construction should be carried, according to the use of Latin, this should carry it for ours, that here the Council was engaged in a new matter, not for the invocation of saints, and the benefits of that, which are provided for before ; but for the veneration of their relics, and the benefits that come that way, which is the business of this period. And now the Vindicator may consider, to whom of right the character of a false translator belongs, of a falsifier, and a calumniator too.

Certainly controversies about religion were never disgraced by such mean bickerings as these ; but who can help it, that has to do with such men as this Vindicator, and his friend the Representer ?

So much for knowing the sense of the Church by her voice in her general and approved Councils.

Again : We are to know what the Church delivers as a " necessary practice, by her universally practising such things as necessary."* I ask therefore,

1. Did not the Church intend her public offices for ~~holes~~ ^{rules} of universal practice ? and are they not therefore one means by which we are to judge of such practice ?

2. Whether those things are not necessary to be done in the Roman Church, which the public offices require ?

3. Whether she does not practise those things as necessary, which she practises in conformity with her own public offices ? or, whether it be indifferent for the children of the Church to observe her rules, or to refuse to observe them ?

The Vindicator understood himself to be liable to these questions : and therefore when he comes to apply this means of knowing the Church's sense in necessary practices, he adds a new limitation. " Unless," says he, " you can prove, — that what you termed old Popery was delivered as a practice necessary TO SALVATION, all you say will avail you nothing." For the Church is to answer for nothing which she requires not as necessary to salvation. And though she obliges all her children to worship the wood on Good-Friday, and condemns those that refuse as schismatics, as Imbert knows to his cost ; yet it is not the Church's sense that they should do so, because the rubric does not add that this is necessary to salvation. So that if the Church had commanded us to worship Moloch, that ~~had~~ not been Popery or the Church's sense, unless she had inserted that reason for her command, that it is necessary to salvation to worship Moloch.

In a word, the general practice of the Church of Rome in the service of the Virgin, the invocation of saints, and the worship of images, is notorious to the world. And no man that knows the authorized practice, can doubt of the sense of the Church, nor be ignorant that in these things the Bishop of Meaux has delivered not the Church's sense, but his own, if indeed it be his own. The Defender produced an author of the Roman communion, who concluded that the " true and only means to free their religion from the exceptions of heretics, was to shew that it doth not tolerate any thing but what is good, and that the public worship, the customs and doctrines authorized in it, are just and holy." This author had good reason for what he said, especially against the Bishop of Meaux, who imputed to the Pagan religion those abuses which were publicly committed amongst them, and laughed at the expositions of the philosophers, that would put a good sense upon their abominable worships. The Vindicator says, " he admits the parallel, but he is certain that it will never make any thing for us, till we can shew that the Church does or did make use of racks and gibbets, and all sorts of tortures, to oblige people to believe and practise those things which we call old Popery, as the heathens did to make them worship idols." That is to say, he does not admit the parallel, though he says he does admit it. For the bishop of Meaux was brought in charging Paganism with a barbarous and idolatrous worship, upon the account of their notorious and authorized practice, without regard to their cruelties upon those that refused to comply with

them. And therefore if the parallel be admitted, we may conclude an old Popery from a like general practice, without inquiring whether racks and gibbets, and all sorts of tortures were used to enforce it upon the people.

But the Vindicator has required a wise condition to make the parallel hold; for he says in effect, that before Christianity appeared against Heathenism, and till the Pagans had some people to hang and to torture, Paganism could not be charged with a corrupt and idolatrous worship. And yet if this were necessary to be added, old Popery has not been behind-hand with the use of racks and gibbets and all sorts of tortures; to speak all in a word, it has had, and to this day it has an Inquisition to uphold it.

As for what he says, that the Defender must* “shew that the Church allows such wicked practices as correspond to his author’s example of killing and robbing, and are as dangerous to the Church, as those are to a state:” I reply, that the question is not here, how dangerous those doctrines and practices are, which we call old Popery; but whether indeed they are to be charged upon the Church of Rome. And the similitude was brought to shew, that it is to as little purpose to defend the Church of Rome against our exceptions, by pretending that no decision of Council can be produced requiring that service and worship, which is universally given to saints and images, as to acquit a city where they rob and kill without contradiction, by saying, that there is no law commanding men to rob and murder one another.

As for the danger of those doctrines and practices, which we call old Popery, it is another question, in which I am pretty confident, that good man the Representer, is bound to appear. He and the Vindicator therefore shall agree about it, at their leisure. I shall do my part to bring them fairly together, and so let them compound the matter betwixt them as well as they can.

The Vindicator felt himself borne down with these clear testimonies of an old Popery, which the Defender plied him with; and by what appears now, he struggles at last with all his might, to make this same Popery, if so we must call it, to be not the Popery of the Church, but a Popery rather in the Church; and because it is of so large a spread, and is manifestly upheld by the authority of the great ones; therefore some good words were now to be given it, to save the reputa-

tion of the Church ; which else will be in great danger of the similitude of a city that permits to rob or kill without contradiction ; or rather of a city that rewards robbers, and punishes honest men.

"Wherefore," says the Vindicator,* "every thing, I hope, that any one fancies to be ill, is not therefore to be reprov'd." And is it come to this at last? We had been in good hands, I see, if we had come into the Church of Rome upon the Representer's terms. For was it not the Representer that said, "he would as soon be a Turk as the Answerer's Papist?" Now the Answerer's Papist was the old Papist : and therefore it was notably and boldly said, "that he would as soon be a Turk as our Papist." For one would at least conclude from thence, that the expounding and representing party would have stood stoutly by us, if we had come in rejecting all that Popery, as we used to call it, which the Representer had so bravely rejected. But if we had taken the bait, had we not been finely angled up? For what says our Representer's other self, the Vindicator? Why truly, "every thing, he hopes, that any one fancies to be ill, is not therefore to be reprov'd." It seems then, that the Representer did but fancy those things to be ill, which (not he in his misrepresenting side, but) the Answerer charged upon them as Popery : or, shall we say that these men understand one another, and that he did not fancy them to be ill, but for the present thought good to say however that they were monstrous ill things ; and that he would as soon be a Turk as the Answerer's Papist? But I rather think, that they did not lay their heads together upon this business ; but that in the desperate estate, to which the Vindicator's cause was reduced, by the clear testimonies of of such a Popery amongst them, as the Representer rejects with detestation, he found himself obliged, for the credit of his Church, and perhaps for his own safety, to remit of his rigour ; or rather to take off his disguise a little without asking the Representer's leave ; and so "he hopes that every thing that any one fancies to be ill, is not therefore to be reprov'd."

But the Representer has the less reason to be angry with our Vindicator, because this gentleman has made as bold with himself, as with his friend. The Vindicator too once fancied, that it was an ill thing to worship the image of our Saviour or the holy cross with divine worship, upon any account whatsoever. But Cardinal Capisucchi came in the

* Page 7.

way ; and so every thing that the Vindicator himself fancied to be ill, is not therefore to be reproved.

Nay, he was not content to let the old Popery get up again, but he has been pleased to sink the new one as much. For though Cardinal Capisucchi says so and so, yet seeing others of the same communion reject this, and are NOT CENSURED BY THE CHURCH ; it plainly follows that his is not the necessary doctrine of the Church. "And what he says in this case is applicable to all others."* Alas for new Popery ! for it declines apace ; we had thought it had been shewn us for the true, ancient, standing sense of the Church. And now the most that can be said for it is, that it is not censured by the Church. It seems then, that these Expounders and Representers, are but a tolerated party : one step more backwards, makes them not to be so much as tolerated, and the next news we shall hear is, that they are intolerable. But, by the way, what Church does the Vindicator mean, by saying that he and his are "not censured by the Church?" I fancy he means the invisible Church which cannot now be seen, because no Council is sitting. The Fathers that sat at Trent, do not start out of their graves to declare these gentlemen heretically inclined ; and the books of the Council do not rise up and fly in their faces. For if we mind what the authority of the now living, and visible Church declares in this case, we see that they who reject this old Popery, as we call it, are censured by the Church : and to mention Imbert no more, the instance of *Ægidius Magistralis*, canon of Seville in Spain, is a conviction to the Vindicator of something that I will not name. For he was forced to abjure these two propositions as heretical. 1. That the images of saints are not to be adored with the same adoration with which the prototypes are adored. 2. That the cross is to be worshipped only with an inferior adoration. This very instance being produced by the Defender out of Capisucchi,† who left it for a caution and a conviction to such men, as in good earnest maintain our Vindicator's doctrine ; for the Vindicator to mention Capisucchi's doctrine, and to say in the same breath, that they who reject it are not censured by the Church, is of a piece with his sincerity every where else. Well, but let that pass, and let us consider what will come of this, if it be true, that they are not censured by the Church. Really this is but a small encouragement to take Popery upon the Representer's terms : for that which is not now censured

* Page 7.

† Pref. p. 14, 15.

by the Church, may in good time be censured by the Church. Perhaps you will say there is no reason to fear it : but in my mind there is ; for, as I said before, the credit of this new Popery has sunk extremely in a month ; for in truth the Vindicator has degraded it from being Popery, as we observed some time since. Now if it be not so much as Popery, it may in a little time grow to be heresy, and then the censures of the Church will follow as fast as can be : in the mean time, it is not Popery : and so farewell to the Representers' undertakings, which are overthrown beyond all recovery ; unless he faces about, and recovers his credit, by beating the Vindicator out of the field with his own hand.

The Representer at first gave us a two-fold character of Popery : one was of that Popery which the Papists own and profess, as appears in the title-page of his first part. In his very first article of praying to images, the Popery which the Papists own and profess amounts to this, that properly they do not so much as honour images, but only Christ and his saints. This is the Popery of the representing side.

What now says the Vindicator ? He very honestly acknowledges that there is a private sentiment in the Church against this, that will have the image of Christ worshipped with the same worship as Christ himself ; and what does he conclude upon it ? Why, that any one may hold which side they please as an opinion, or suspend their judgment, but neither side is truly what you ought to mean by Popery. And therefore I conceive, that, if neither side be Popery, the Representer's side is not Popery, but a private opinion, which the Church has not yet censured, as the Vindicator says.

Now, what the Vindicator said in this case is applicable to all others ; where the Answerer plainly shewed, that the eminent and leading men of the Reman Church were of a different sentiment from the Representer. Whereas, therefore, the Representer either promised or threatened great matters in his introduction : " I will endeavour," says he, " to separate these calumnies and scandals from what is *really the faith and doctrine of the Church*." I will take off the black and dirt which has been thrown upon her, and set her forth in her *genuine* complexion. I will represent a Papist whose faith, and exercise of his religion, is according to the direction and command of the Church." The Vindicator has, on the other hand, knocked him down at one blow : for, says he, " so long as the Church determines not the dispute, any one may hold

which side they please as an opinion, but neither side is truly what you ought to mean by Popery."

This shews that I was not much out of the way, when I noted the great hazard of these expounding and representing designs. The truth is, it was so nice a work, that in prudence they ought to have committed it to one hand, and the Representor should have been the Vindicator; for while they are two, and each of them driven to straits, one of them being pressed on one side, and the other on another side, the danger was great that each of them would shift for himself a several way, and be exposed to the reproaches of one another.

Thus it happened, that the Representor being pressed by his adversaries for not having fairly represented Popery, was fain at last to make a rule to know the Church's sense by, which might serve his turn; and what should that be, but the current passing of his book amongst Catholics! for this, he thinks, was enough to shew that the doctrine of it was authentic.

But the Vindicator being pressed with the opposition that is made in the Roman communion to the doctrine of the Exposition, and perceiving that current passing would not serve his turn, he, I say, comes out a month after the Representor, and will not allow any thing to make doctrine authentic, under the express words of a general approved Council; and he has utterly undone the poor Representor's rule of current passing, which he thought was enough to shew that his doctrine was authentic.

Nay, the unfortunate Vindicator has blown up the Exposition of the Bishop of Meaux, as well as the characters of the Representor; which, indeed, could not be avoided, because one must necessarily follow the fate of the other: for the Bishop's Exposition was solemnly pretended to be an Exposition of the doctrines of the Catholic Church in matters of controversy, that is to say, an Exposition of Popery. But the Bishop has expounded many things for the doctrine of the Catholic Church, which other members of the same Church condemn; and so long as the dispute remains undetermined, neither side is truly what you ought to call Popery. And therefore the Bishop should have called his book an Exposition of his own private sentiments concerning the doctrine of the Catholic Church: thus, I say, he should have called it, or else he should have found out another Vindicator.

Nay, because the greatest grace that his doctrine seems now to have from the Church is, that it is not censured by the Church, the title should have been a little more wary, by running thus: "An Exposition of the Bishop's private sentiment, which the Church has not yet censured, concerning the doctrine of the Catholic Church."

But because, in truth, the living Church has begun to censure his doctrine, and they who have censured it are not censured for it, the title should have been yet more warily contrived, thus: "An Exposition of the Bishop's private sentiment, which sentiment is not contrary to the express words of a general approved Council." Then, perhaps, the Vindicator might have done something in discharge of the duty of a vindicator; but, as the case stands, he ought henceforward to change his name, and to write himself the Betrayer of the Bishop of Meaux's Exposition, but by no means the Vindicator of it.

Which himself so well understood, that he thought fit to pass over all the letter of the Defender to the Bishop; and he gives this substantial reason for it, because the letter concerns not him, the Vindicator, nor the doctrine of the Catholic Church which he is to vindicate. In good time! But the letter sorely concerned the Bishop, and the doctrine of his Exposition;* and therefore, if it does not concern the Vindicator, you are not to wonder at it, because there have been great changes of late, and now the doctrine of the Bishop's Exposition is one thing, and the doctrine of the Catholic Church is another.

I may, without breach of modesty, say, that hitherto I have given the Vindicator a full reply. And I believe the reader would be well satisfied that I should drop him here, and leave his following cavils to be confuted by any one that will take the pains to compare him and the Defender together; but then, this would be a pretence for another book, and for some boasting that he is not answered. A little, therefore, must be said to what remains. And,

1. By "many of the Roman casuists allowing a defamation of an adversary by false accusations,"† as the Defender said in his table, it is so plain by the book that he meant no more than that they maintained it to be but a venial sin, that the Vindicator himself has not questioned it; and therefore it was

a mere cavil to tax the Defender of falsifying in this business ; though, to encourage the Vindicator to do well another time, thus much he is to be commended for, that he limited his accusation to the expression of *allowing*, which he found in the table. "This, sir, as you here word it, is a false imputation." Even where he does ill, I am glad to find that he does no worse. Bnt, to speak to the thing, they that make one of the basest things in nature to be but a venial sin, cannot reasonably be otherwise understood, than that they intend to make it easy for their own party to commit it ; and though they flourish never so fairly with that rule, that "no evil is to be done that good may come of it," yet there are so many little ways amongst them of clearing themselves from venial sins, that when so foul a wickedness is made but venial, it can be with no other design than to encourage men to it ; and I think I may put it to the Vindicator, whether an encouragement to sin be not equivalent to an allowance of it. He grants the Pope condemned these propositions, and seems to make some advantage of it, as if they were now never more to be told of them, because the supreme Pastor has condemned them. But before he insinuates any such conclusions again, I would desire him to inquire of F. le C. what became of the Pope's brief to that purpose in France ; though I believe there are some fathers nearer hand that can inform him, if he knows it not already.

As for his endeavour to clear himself of denying what his adversary proved upon this occasion,* let him believe that he is come well off if he can : I will not pursue him as if it was hard to get him at an advantage.

2. He says† the Defender far exceeds him in giving obliging titles,‡ otherwise called hard words. The Defender put those together which he complained of, and they are a pretty company. The Vindicator refers us to the Defence from p. 49 to 54, to shew how he has been used : I have read over those pages, and I find the Defender there preparing himself to encounter rudeness and incivility, p. 49, esteeming it unchristian to return his adversary's revilings, p. 50, shewing in him the marks of a calumniating spirit, and that he is an unfit witness to be credited against an adversary, p. 51, &c. It seems he should have said that the Vindicator was a very civil, moderate, fair-spoken, and honest gentleman that had

abused nobody. If we do not commend these men as much as they commend themselves, we must be thought to rail at them as much as they do at us. For my own part I have not complimented the Vindicator, but I have spared him, and he ought to thank me for it; though I do not much care whether he does or no, unless withal he intends to deserve well for the time to come.

3. To his cavil at the Defender's arguing that the Bishop of Meaux's "we suppose," or as the Vindicator renders him, "we believe," or as the French may be rendered, "we esteem," is no argument of the truth of that doctrine which he so propounds: I reply, that the Defender did not thereupon infer that the Bishop had no other argument to produce. By the way I tell the Vindicator, that he cannot produce a better for that doctrine that was in question.* But for him to say "that the Defender sees he cannot now deny that that was a falsification,"† though in truth he would not allow it so much as to be a mistake, is to give us more and more reason to conclude that we must have done with these men; for why should a man under restraint go on to argue with another that feels none?

To his other cavil, that the Defender brings in the Bishop "observing that St. Paul concluded that Christ himself ought not to be any more offered," without putting in the following words, "up to death for us:" I reply, that the Defender by offering meant "offering to death," as he said in his last defence, and that without such a supposition his argument was lost. But of this the Vindicator would take no notice. I add, that there was no need of repeating those words that were omitted, because Christ was spoken of before as a victim offered for sin. Nor was there any need of saying this, but that I do in my conscience believe that we have to do with such a Representer and Vindicator as are not in this day to be matched within the lines of communication: if we go any further, I think I know of one that will set them hard.

4. For what concerns the translation of the Bishop's letter, it was certainly but just in the Defender to answer Monsieur de Meaux's sense, and not his translator's blunders. But now for that wise remark which the Vindicator has made upon that passage, p. 11, he had done much more prudently to have considered what the Defender told him, that really he is not master

* P. 9.

† Def. p. 57.

enough of the French language to pretend to turn critic in it, than to have given the world so evident a demonstration of it. Every one knows, that is at all acquainted with that tongue, that *cartons* do not signify in general any leaves, but such leaves as are put into the room of others that are taken out of a book; and therefore to add *cartons* to a book is, as the Defender truly rendered it, to take out some leaves and put in others in the room of them.

5. The Defender named those accusations of the Vindicator against him, which he could not know to be true, and gave some reasons for saying so. But the Vindicator charging the Defender with the like, has neither given one reason, or so much as one instance.

As for this man's accusing the Defender of things which he knew to be evidently false, the Defender instanced in the Vindicator's charging him with falsifying Cajetan upon the question of extreme unction; though it was most evident that he had not falsified Cajetan, as he shewed in his second defence. Upon this the Vindicator declares in the presence of God, the avenger of all wilful crimes, "that he never accused his adversary of any thing but what he thought (nay, had proved) him evidently guilty of: and he thinks he has now satisfied the world, that in that very instance, the Defender is a falsifier."* And for this he refers in the margin to his letter to the author of the discourse concerning extreme unction. Well, the first use I make of this is, to adore the mercy and patience of the great God to whom this man has appealed: I lay no stress at present upon the obvious right in this matter; but, as far as I can recollect, he could not but have seen that author's answer to his letter, before this full Answer of his came out of the press. And then the Lord have mercy upon him. One thing I am sure of, that he neither wants that conscience or that understanding which are required to swearing in truth and judgment, who can, after such a conviction, declare in the presence of God that he has proved the Defender to be a falsifier of Cajetan.

6. As to his scandalous reflections upon the Church of England,† he refers us for a proof of whatever he has said to a late book, called "Good Advice to the Pulpits;" which, if it does prove those things against us, which it pretends to do, does not yet justify one quarter of that reviling which he has discharged against us. But whereas he says that book alone is

* P. 16.

† P. 10.

enough to make our party ashamed, I must tell him that his boast is a little unseasonable, since his party may have in a little time some cause to be ashamed of the book, and the Vindicator, in particular, for having boasted of it. I have a strong fancy that the good advice is the Representer's own : but the Vindicator's good words of it will not, I guess, make amends for undoing the Representer in his main chance.

7. For that parallel which the Defender required to the account of things in Queen Elizabeth's time, for which Dr. Heylin is quoted, this man says no more than to this purpose, that if it were not for some hot-headed spirits, these brangles about religion might be ended. Which is as much as to say that he insinuated something which his superiors have forbidden him to ~~own~~. It seems that it was to be insinuated, but not spoken plainly. But because he forbears, I shall do so too, and refer myself to the world if he has not now made nonsense of the application of Heylin's account.

8. As to his being a spy upon the Defender, his vindication of himself is the very masterpiece of his answer : for no man that closely attends to his words can tell whether he denies or confesses it ; though to a superficial reader he seems to deny it. His words are elaborately put together, and though I am in very great haste, yet I must needs let the reader see them. " If I reflected upon your preaching, it was from mere report (but he might be at church, when he did not reflect upon the Defender's preaching), for I assure you, Sir, what you were told of my being sometimes a part of your auditory, is like many other stories which you abound with in all your writings, I suppose too from hearsay." But if the Defender were not told of it, but saw him at church, then this comes not within the case, because he had it not then from hearsay, but from eyesight. Again, if the Defender were told of it, then indeed he had it from hearsay, but he might hear the truth for all that. The Vindicator was afraid of proof, and I advise him to be so still. That which follows is just such another pleasant strain ; it concerns the Sunday night conferences ; but the reader shall go for that himself, as he likes the other.

But whereas upon this occasion of the Defender's preaching he bids him ask his conscience, whether they who acknowledge only one God, whom they must adore, can be guilty of such a horrid crime, as to give divine worship to saints ? I have asked the Defender about it, who has also asked his conscience, and in the name of his conscience he says,

"that they may be guilty of that horrid crime." And more than that, he intends to give these men such reasons for his conclusion as he is in his conscience persuaded cannot be fairly answered. In the meantime I will give the Vindicator a question for his question, and desire him to put it to his own conscience, "whether a woman who acknowledges only one husband, to whom she must pay conjugal duty, can be guilty of such a horrid crime as to give her husband's bed to another?" And then let him use a little conscience in the application.

9. For what next follows, that he would not be thought to have abused the Defender's auditory; that the Defender had better give up the cause; that he gave ill language and justified it; that he believes every idle report of the Bishop of Meaux rather than his vindication;* and his explaining of the word "reveries;" this shall all pass off quietly.

10. And so should his next reflection too, but that he is so warm upon it, that he must not be neglected. The Defender had affirmed those expressions of St. Germaine, St. Anselm, and the rest of them, concerning the Virgin, which Crasset had transcribed, to be horrid blasphemies. This the Vindicator could not endure. The Defender therefore transcribed them out of Crasset, and left the reader to judge. What now says the Vindicator? Why truly he knew not well what to say: to confess plainly that they were blasphemies, would be to vindicate the Defender: to deny it plainly, was yet a little too soon; for though new Popery was drawing on, it had not yet breathed its last. He took a middle course, and thus informs the Defender: "Had you only said that Father Crasset had collected such passages from those great saints as if taken in that strict and dogmatical sense he brought them for, might be blasphemies, that father must only have answered for them."† This man has a notable gift of speaking, and saying nothing, which does him great service at a pinch. He does not say that if those passages were taken in that strict and dogmatical sense for which Crasset brought them, then they might be called blasphemies; for this had been to bring Father Crasset upon his back, with all those great saints which Crasset had ready raised up against Widenfelt. And yet he does not say, that if the Defender had said what he supposes for him, that Father Crasset could have brought himself off: no, he answers more warily, that Father Crasset

* Page 11, 12.

† Page 12.

must only have answered for them ; which it may be he could, and it may be he could not. Now here he should have ended ; for Crasset may take himself to be sacrificed in what follows : “but to lay them to those holy saints’ charges, to call them superstitious men, their expressions horrid blasphemies, is what truly pious ears cannot hear without indignation.” For Father Crasset is in an ill case, if to lay the holy saints expressions in Crasset’s sense, to the charge of the holy saints, be what truly pious ears cannot hear without indignation. But I beg the Vindicator’s pardon ; for now I see how Crasset may be brought off again, or rather the Vindicator. For perhaps that which pious ears cannot hear, is not very particular by itself, but altogether ; *i.e.* pious ears may hear those passages laid to the charges of the saints, even in Crasset’s sense ; but that therefore those saints should be called superstitious men, and their expressions horrid blasphemies, as they were not by Crasset, but by the Defender ; this is what truly pious ears cannot hear without indignation.

Now after all this dexterity, he has not offered to shew that those passages which the Defender produced are not horrid blasphemies, or that they are capable of a good sense. If the reader has forgot them, he may go to the Defender for them, p. 89, 90, &c. and then he will be satisfied that all this shuffling comes to no more than this ; that the Vindicator cannot bear any thing that reflects dishonourably upon his great and holy saints ; but his pious ears can hear expressions from them that do blasphemously reflect upon Almighty God, without any indignation at all.

11. The Defender produced those prayers and ceremonies in the consecration of a cross, which to him seemed to be magical incantations rather than prayers. The Vindicator, to be even with him, says, That we use the like prayers and ceremonies in the consecration of churches and chapels. Now if we do, then I for my part will say, that our prayers upon that occasion look more like magical incantations than prayers. But why did not the Vindicator produce the like prayers to those which the Defender produced ? Will any man think that his good nature would not suffer him to shame us so grievously ? Or does the Vindicator think that he is of such credit, that his word must be taken for any thing he says ? He refers indeed to Sparrow’s Collection of Canons, p. 375. But why not a few lines transcribed from thence, to match the Defender’s particular allegations ? Even because the place

would not afford them. I grant, that we set persons and places too apart for the service of our Maker, by prayer and ceremony. But do we pray that the stones of the church may be a saving remedy to mankind, as they do that the wood of the cross may be so? Do we pretend to derive any virtue upon them, which is afterwards to be derived from them; or that by the holiness of our churches we may be redeemed from sin, as they hope to be by the merits of a consecrated cross? for so they pray at the consecration of it. This, and the like, is that which seems to be a magical incantation: but for which he cannot find an appearance of a parallel amongst us, any more than he could for that sort of conjuring, which they call exorcising, and for which he has said never a word; and it had not been the worse for him if he had said as little for the pious and significant ceremonies of his Church in the consecration of crosses.

12. He says, the Guide in Controversy remains unanswered. To which I shall not think it enough to say what he does to the catalogue of our unanswered books, that "he should have told us whether it is worth answering in particular or no, when all that is said in it, is obviated in many treatises;" though I am very confident that this is the very truth. But I shall add, 1. That some parts of the Guide in Controversy have been answered, and the very foundations of it overthrown, in Dr. Stillingfleet's second Discourse in Vindication of the Protestant Grounds of Faith, &c. in answer to the Guide in Controversies by R. H. Imprimatur Sam. Parker, April 15, 1673. Again, the fourth discourse in the second edition set forth 1673, is answered in "The Difference between the Protestant and Socinian Methods," published about a year since. And the fifth discourse in vindication of the Council of Trent, was answered in the second part of the "Necessity of Reformation." To which we have had no return. And we think ourselves to be upon equal terms at least with our adversaries, as to this very book. But, 2. For what wants a particular answer, I am apt to think that this unseasonable boast of the Vindicator will prove an occasion of depriving his party even of that little thing they have to say in this kind; and therefore they will tell him, I doubt, that he mentioned it a little too soon. For what he says, "That they may be attacked as the other discourses of the same author lately published at Oxford, with the like misfortune:" I reply, That hitherto the answers, have had the fortune to remain without any returns;

which if it be a misfortune to the authors, it is for this only reason that I can think of, that the oftener our adversaries write in the way of replies and answers, the more they discover their own nakedness, as I am pretty sure the Representer and the Vindicator have done for their parts.

A
VINDICATION OF SOME PROTESTANT PRINCIPLES
OF
CHURCH-UNITY AND CATHOLIC COMMUNION,
FROM THE
CHARGE OF AGREEMENT WITH THE CHURCH OF ROME.
IN ANSWER

*To a late Pamphlet, intituled, An Agreement between the
Church of England and the Church of Rome, evinced from
the Concertation of some of her sons with their brethren
the Dissenters.*

TO THE READER.

I HERE present thee with a book which the importunity of our Roman adversaries has extorted from me ; I had rather have employed my pen upon some more useful argument ; but in such a state as this, we cannot always be our own choosers. The design of the book I answer seems to be, to revive some old disputes between us and the Dissenters, and to raise new jealousies in them, if not of our inclination to Popery, yet of a great deal of Popish leaven yet remaining among us, which ought to be purged out ; for there is nothing such men dread more, than that the Dissenters should at this time entertain any kind thoughts of the Church of England. The plot, I confess, is well enough laid, were not all wise men of both parties aware of it, and that makes it ridiculous enough ; and indeed the book itself is an odd kind of mixture ; he gives very good words to the Dissenters, and at the same time uses no other but their own arguments against the Church of England, to establish some main points of Popery, which whether it be a piece of courtship to them, or a sly affront, ought to be considered. As for our agreement with the Church of Rome, if I have not sufficiently baffled that pretence, I will never write more ; but this of itself was too mean a design to confute that which nobody, not the objector

himself, believed ; and therefore I will be bold to say, that I have abundantly confuted the Popish supremacy from those very principles on which this author would found our agreement. I intended a preface to have explained some notions about the Church, which might have been of use to ordinary readers for the better understanding this answer ; but it swelled so much upon my hands, that by the advice of some friends I have reserved it for a distinct treatise, which shall quickly follow.

W. S.

AN ANSWER TO THE PREFACE.

SINCE this author has thought fit to single me out, as an example of this pretended agreement between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, I shall undertake my own defence, which will give me no other trouble, but a short diversion from some better designs ; which I suppose is all that was hoped for from this pamphlet.

For whoever this author be (which I am not curious to know) I cannot think him so weak, as to hope at this time of day, that he could persuade our Dissenters, "that the clergy of the Church of England are now the chief, if not the only opposers of Popery, and defenders of the Protestant religion ;" or that, notwithstanding all their appearing zeal against Popery, they are still Papists in their hearts, and are ready to embrace a Cassandrian accommodation whenever the Government pleases ; and therefore I could be very well contented such suggestions as these should pass without an answer, as far as I am concerned in them. For let any man that knows me, think me a Papist if he can ; I am pretty confident, this author believes me far enough from it, or else I might have expected better words from him ; but it is fit that such little arts as these should be exposed to the scorn and contempt of mankind, and that our Dissenters should be made sensible what a mean opinion such writers have of them, who hope to impose upon them by such mean arts. For to begin with that great cry of late, "that the clergy of the Church of England are now the chief, if not the only opposers of Popery, and defenders of the Protestant religion ;" is there not good reason for it ? Have they not defended the Church of England against all the little arts and shifts of the Church of Rome ? What is that then which he calls the unlucky mistake, and which the

unwary readers of books are to be warned against? That those unanswerable books, which have of late been written against Popery, were not written by the clergy of the Church of England? That he dares not say. What is the mistake then? That these men, who confute Popery, are not Protestants, but Papists. Methinks their confuting Popery is no great sign of their being Papists; especially when Papists are not able to defend their religion against them. I am sure, if their arguments will keep men from turning Papists, they are notable opposers of Popery, and defenders of the Protestant religion, whatever they are themselves; and what hurt it would do any man to be confirmed in the Protestant religion, though it were by the writings of concealed Papists, I cannot guess. Should the Pope himself write a book against Popery, if the arguments were good, I should like the book never the worse for the sake of the author. I deny not, but such things may be done; Papists may write against Popery, and Protestants for it, with an intention to betray the cause which they undertake to defend; but if this were his rule of guessing, there would be much more just cause to suspect that our late Popish writers were Protestants, than that our Protestant writers were Papists. When they are able to answer their books against Popery, we will give them leave to call them Papists still; but could they have done that, they would have allowed them to have been Protestants still.

But what course does our author take to undeceive unwary readers at this time, and to prove these confuters of Popery to be Papists. Why, "by acquainting them with the avowed principles of some of our clergy about those points wherein the very life of Popery consists, and on which the whole system of that religion is founded: in doing which he hath with some clearness demonstrated the agreement of opinion between the Church of England men, and the Church of Rome, to be so exact and full, that if the Government should so design, it were but *dictum factum*, according to their doctrine; and a Cassandrian peace might be patched up presently with Rome." This is a notable discovery indeed! Do any of these men then embrace any doctrine of the Church of Rome? No; but it seems they agree with the Church of Rome in some fundamental principles, whereon the whole system of Popery is founded: that shall be examined anon. But suppose it at present; do they draw the same conclusions from these principles, which the Church of Rome does? No; but they ought to do so: so

this author thinks ; but suppose they do not think so ; are they ever the nearer Popery, though their principles be the same, if their conclusions are as distant as Protestantism is from Popery ? If they be so well disposed to a Cassandrian peace, I pray, what hinders it ? Will not they receive us upon these terms ? What, not after all their softening representations to invite men into the bosom of the Church ? When they are so fond of all new converts, will they reject the Cassandrian divines of the Church of England ? When he adds, "that his Majesty will admit of no such accommodations," any one would suspect that these poor Cassandrians had been suing for reconciliations, and had been rejected ; that the mollifying character of a Papist truly represented, and the Bishop of Condom's Exposition of the Catholic Faith, which is as soft, though not so honest, as Cassander's consultation, would not now be allowed of at court, and all for the sake of that more glorious design of liberty and conscience. But why might not Cassandrians be reconciled to the Church, and Dissenters have their liberty too ? This prefacer does not tell his story well ; he has forehead enough, but wants somewhat within.

Well, but it was "necessary in this present juncture to put some check to the insulting talk of the clergy, who would be thought to be the only champions against Popery." That the clergy of the Church of England, have industriously and successfully opposed the corruptions of the Church of Rome, will be acknowledged by all but Papists, and they feel it to their cost ; but that they are the only champions against Popery, I assure you, is not pleasing to them, for they would be very glad to see their dissenting brethren put to their helping hand, and be as industrious to preserve those from Popery, who have a veneration for their authority, as we are, and upon these terms we could heartily forgive them all their former unjust imputations of Popery to us ; but that our Popish adversaries find it necessary in this juncture to give some check to this Popery-opposing clergy, I do not wonder, and I believe nobody will, though methinks the best way of giving a check to their brags, had been to confute their books ; and they had work enough before them, had they liked this way ; for I can tell them a great many books which they have never answered yet, and I believe never will, I am sure never can to any purpose. But they come too late to persuade people now that we are Papists, especially when they are so open-hearted as to tell all the world what their design is ; for if we were Papists, no man will believe that they would be

the first men who would discover us; it may be they may know some few Cassandrian churchmen, but those they keep to themselves yet, and leave others to guess at them.

But what check does he intend to give to this insulting talk of the clergy? A very terrible one truly; for from this essay "it is pretty evident that the Church of England must either freely declare, that as to the particulars instanced in, she is agreed with the Romanist, and that the controversy lies only between the Church of Rome and the Protestant dissenter; or, she must honestly renounce the principles she has cleaved unto, when any of her sons wrote against the Nonconformists, and confess that she has been persecuting them for their firm adherence to Protestant doctrine." This is to triumph before the victory, as our author will quickly find; but however, for my part, I am glad it is no worse; for I do not see how this will much humble us with relation to our disputes against Popery: should I find any principles that ever I have maintained against Dissenters, give any advantage to Popery, I would certainly conclude them to be false, and make no scruple at all to renounce them; for that which is false cannot follow from that which is true; and how great a humiliation soever this were, a man might dispute heartily against Popery still; and let them but lay in the charge of persecution upon this issue, which I grant is the true and fair state of the case (for persecution is only for righteousness sake), and if our Dissenters were in the right, I will readily grant that those who made or executed those laws against Dissenters, who had any hand or heart in it, were guilty of persecution. There may be unreasonable severities used upon other accounts, but every man who suffers for following his conscience, is not therefore persecuted; but he who suffers for being in the right, for believing and doing what God commands.

The next discovery this essay makes is this: "that ever since the breach between the Church of England, and the Protestant Dissenters has had its being, we have left us nothing but the name, the shadow of a Protestant Church of England, and that so far as she differs from the Dissenter, she agrees with the Roman Catholic." How glad would these gentlemen be to have none thought Protestants but Dissenters, who in this present juncture are a more gentle and better natured sort of Protestants than this shadow of the Church of England, which haunts them like a ghost or spectre. But when did the Church of England commence such a mere name and shadow?

Ever since the breach with the Protestant Dissenter. But is not the Church of England the same now that it was before that breach? And if it were a good substantial Protestant Church then, how comes it to be a shadow now? Suppose what he says were true, "that as far as we differ from the Protestant Dissenter, we agree with the Roman Catholic." The Church of England may be never the worse Protestant Church for that, which is placed in the middle, between two extremes, the Dissenter and the Papist. The Church of England Reformers never made a mere opposition to the Church of Rome the rule of their reformation, but reformed only those abuses of the Church of Rome which needed a reformation; and when this prefacer can prove that we have not reformed enough, we will reform again; for we are not obstinate against convictions, and never think it too late to reform; however, if as far as we differ from the Dissenter, we are Roman Catholics, yet certainly, as far as we agree with the Dissenter, we are not; and that is enough to make us somewhat more than the shadow of a Protestant Church. • For we agree with them in our opposition to the Pope's supremacy (as will presently appear), to infallibility, to transubstantiation, to the sacrifice of the mass, to the adoration of the host, to the worship of saints and angels, and the Virgin Mary, to the worship of images, to prayers in an unknown tongue, to the denying people the use of the Bible, to the five new Popish sacraments, to indulgences, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the merit of works, and such like Popish innovations and corruptions; and to oppose these I take to be good substantial Protestantism. And as for those things wherein we differ from the Dissenters, we are so far from being Roman Catholics, that as for my own part, though I like neither, yet I think the Dissenter the better of the two: setting aside the apostolical institution of episcopacy, I should prefer any form of government, presbytery, or independency, rather than a Papal monarchy; it were better to have no ceremonies at all, than to see religion transformed into little else but outside and ceremony; for some external indecencies of worship, which may be supplied by inward devotions, are more eligible than gross and palpable superstitions. Though I think sitting at the Lord's supper savours of too much irreverence, yet I had rather see men receive sitting, than see them worship the host.

So that our Church of England nobility and gentry, as he adds, have no reason either to embrace the name of Roman

• Catholic, or to close with the Protestant Dissenter; a Church of England Protestant is somewhat more than a name still, and I hope will be so, when some other names will be forgot.

An Answer to the pretended Agreement between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. And first to the Introduction.

HE begins with an account of the late dispute about representing and misrepresenting, which if he had been wise he would have forgot: "The Papists (he says) complain of misrepresentation, and, until this be yielded, they will not dispute." And I commend them for their resolution, which is the wisest thing they can now do, though it had been wiser not to have complained; for they complained as long as they could; and now they have no more to say, they will dispute no longer: as he observes, "That for some months there has been nothing but answering, replying, rejoining, and sur-rejoining, and we are still where we began:" that is, they are Papists still, and we Protestants, which I suppose is all that he can mean; for if they have any modesty, their complaining, and our trouble of answering is at an end, which I think is not where we began.

Well, so much then for misrepresenting, and now a new scene opens. "In the first place a just state of the controversy must be settled, wherein the contending parties agree, and how far they differ." What they please, we are contented to follow them in their own way; though it is strange this should be to settle now. Our author undertakes the first of these, but "does not design to encumber this discourse with a catalogue of agreements in the great doctrines of Christian religion, and matters of opinion." Though he was more afraid than hurt here, for this would not much have encumbered his discourse; for I know little we agree in, but the three creeds; but his reason why he will not encumber his discourse with our agreement in doctrines and opinions, is very surprising, *viz.* because there is no need of agreement in such matters: "For both the Council of Trent and our English Convocation have taken especial care by a latitude of expression to obtain the assent of men who vastly differ in their opinions:" which is a false account of the English Convocation, but a very true, though strange, account of that infallible Council of Trent, of which

more presently. But is not this a clever way of flinging off all disputes about doctrines and opinions? His business is to prove the agreement of my principles about Church communion with the Church of Rome. For after all his talk of the Church of England, he has not one word about her, unless he takes me for the Church of England, which I assure him I never took myself to be; but it seems one poor single divine may pass for the Church of England, since it is dwindled into a name and shadow, though it would be misrepresentation in a Protestant to impute the opinions and doctrines of popes, cardinals, doctors, schoolmen, canonists, casuists, nay, of General Councils themselves, if they happen to forget their anathemas, to the Church of Rome: I say his design being to shew the agreement of my principles with the Church of Rome, he knew this was impossible to be done, unless he laid aside the consideration of all doctrines and opinions. But are these of no account then in the Church of Rome? Is it no matter what our opinions are, so we do but maintain the Pope's supremacy? I think the supremacy an intolerable usurpation on the rights and liberties of the Christian Church; but I think the Popish innovation in faith and worship more intolerable corruptions of the Christian religion, and more fatal to men's souls; and therefore, though men groaned under the oppressions of the See of Rome, there were other corruptions which give birth to the Reformation, witness Luther's reformation; and though I should suppose it possible to be persuaded for peace sake to submit to the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome, if all other abuses and corruptions were taken away, yet while the corruptions of faith and worship remain, while I believe them to be such dangerous corruptions, it makes reconciliation impossible; for though I may be contented to be oppressed in my Christian liberties, I can never be contented to be damned; which is the difference between submitting to an usurped authority, and complying with a corrupt faith and worship; for though I hope a great many who do so will find mercy, yet those can expect none who are convinced of these corruptions and yet comply, which would be my case. So that he begins at the wrong end to prove my agreement with the Church of Rome; for though my principles did prove, and though I were myself persuaded that the Bishop of Rome had a regular and canonical authority over all other churches, while he is a truly Catholic and orthodox bishop, yet I should think such corruptions in faith and worship

sufficient to absolve all Christians from their subjection to him; and therefore whatever my principles of Church communion are, there is little hope of my agreement with the Church of Rome, while these doctrinal corruptions last; and it is a vain thing to prove an agreement in principles of government, unless they can prove an agreement in faith and worship too. There was no dispute, that I know of, between the Catholics and the Arians about principles of government; but he would have been laughed at who should hence have inferred an agreement between them.

However setting aside this, let us consider how he proves that doctrines and opinions are so little, or not at all, concerned in the agreement of the two Churches, *viz.* because “both the Council of Trent and the English Convocation have taken especial care, by a latitude of expression, to obtain the assent of men who vastly differ in their opinions.” Has the Church of Rome, then, and the Church of England, no positive opinions to which they expect the assent of their members, especially of their clergy? He instances in the doctrine of predetermination, or which among us are better known by the name of Arminian controversies: now suppose they thought fit to give a latitude of sense in their defining these controversies, have they positively defined nothing? Has not the Church of Rome in express terms decreed the doctrine of transubstantiation, of worship of saints and images, of the adoration of the host, of seven sacraments, of purgatory? &c. And has not the Church of England as positively determined against them? And where is the agreement then between the two Churches? The truth is, there cannot be a worse thing said of any Church than what this author charges both upon the Church of England and the Church of Rome, that they purposely penned their decrees in such loose terms, that men of different opinions might expound them to their own sense: which is to make a show of deciding a controversy, with an intention all the while to leave it undecided; which is such a juggle as unbecomes the sincerity of a Christian Church. There may be a great many nice philosophical disputes which a wise Church may think necessary to leave undecided; but there never can be any good reason, instead of determining controversies, to lay the foundation of endless disputes between the members of the same communion by doubtful and ambiguous expressions.

And therefore I absolutely deny that the Church of England

has done this, or ever intended to do it. She has indeed used that temper and moderation in those Articles which relate to the five points as only to determine what is substantial in them, and necessary to be believed by all Christians without deciding those niceties, whereon the controversy between the Calvinist and the Arminian turns, and therefore both of them may subscribe these Articles, because the controversies between them are determined on either side; and the appeasing such heats, as may be occasioned by those disputes, is left to the prudence of governors, which was thought a better way than a positive decision of them: this, I think, I could make appear, were it a proper place for it; and therefore have always thought that the Church of England was wronged on both sides, while both the Calvinist and Arminian have forced her to speak their own sense, when she intended to speak neither. And no man can blame this conduct who remembers, that this is only a reviving that old philosophical dispute about necessity and fate, which always has been a dispute, and is likely to continue so; and though these different opinions have very different effects in our minds, and form very different apprehensions in us of Almighty God, which may be a just reason to prefer one before the other; yet they are both consistent with the belief of all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity,* as I have shewn at large in that book to which this author so often refers.

But now the Church of Rome has truly used this art, which this author charges her with, such a latitude of expression and ambiguous terms as might satisfy their differing divines, that the cause was determined on their side, when there was no other way to end their disputes and allay their heats; and that in many concerning points too, as any one may see, who reads Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent; and if this be intolerable in a fallible Church, it is much more intolerable in a Council which pretends to infallibility. Certainly they distrusted their own authority; either they did not believe themselves to be infallible, or knew that their divines did not think them so; for otherwise the authority of the Council might have overruled their disputes, and there had been no need of cheating them into an assent: but what expectation is there that the decrees of those men should be infallible, who so often intended to decree nothing?

* Vindication of the Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet, p. 281, &c.

This is a mystery which I suppose our author would not so freely have confessed at another time ; but it was necessary to allow this latitude of sense in the decrees of the Trent Council now to bring off Monsieur de Meaux and the Representer, who do indeed expound the decrees of the Council to a great latitude of sense : but it is not a little matter will help them ; the latitude of one side of the line will not do, but it must reach from pole to pole. There is another ingenuous confession of this author which is worth the noting, that among the Romanists, about the great doctrine of predetermination, there are the Durandists, Dominicans, Jansenists, Molinists, and Scotists, that very much differ in opinion, and yet are still of the same Church ; and yet these are the men that quarrel at the Reformation, because there are different opinions among them, when there are the same disputes among themselves, managed with as great heat and contention. These are the men who tell us that we must have an infallible judge to end our disputes, when an infallible Pope and infallible Councils dare not undertake to end theirs ; but as for what he adds, that there are in the Church of England Calvinists, Arminians, Socinians, and Antinomians, who subscribe the same articles of religion as terms of unity and peace : as for Calvinists and Arminians, I will grant they may both subscribe our Articles ; whether Socinians do, I know not no more than they know when a secret Jew, or one who does not believe transubstantiation, is received into holy orders by them ; but I am sure an honest Socinian cannot subscribe our Articles, unless he can subscribe the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds ; but this was only designed to propagate that groundless calumny, that the divines of the Church of England are infected with Socinianism.

Having thus, as well as he could, delivered himself from engaging in that dispute, about our agreement in doctrinal points, which he knew he could make nothing of ; he says, "He will confine himself to the agreement there is between both Churches about government and worship ;" and threatens to shew, how we have disputed against Dissenters upon Roman Catholic principles, both in proving their obligation to communion with us, and in vindicating the terms of our communion from being sinful. This is what he undertakes to prove, and we are bound to hear him.

ANSWER TO SECT. I.

Concerning the Church of England's Closure with a Roman Catholic principle about the government of the Church, in proving the Dissenter to lie under an obligation of holding communion with her.

And now we are come to the main seat of the controversy about Catholic communion, which our author has very dexterously improved into Catholic power and empire. I need give him no hard words to expose his manifest and wilful prevarications in this matter; it will be thought hard enough, if he be capable of blushing. Now to make this as visible as the light: I shall, 1. Shew, wherein he pretends the agreement between the two Churches consists;—that is, between my principles of communion, and the Church of Rome; for I am the only person here concerned; and if I cannot vindicate myself, I will own my own shame, without casting the blame on my dear mother the Church of England; and I suppose, it will be sufficient to vindicate myself, if I first shew him, that I have in express words rejected all those propositions wherein he pretends this agreement consists. Secondly, particularly vindicate those passages he transcribes out of my books, and shew his sincerity in quoting, and his skill in applying, and then his French Popery may shift for itself, excepting a word or two of that learned archbishop Petrus de Marca.

As for the first, he himself has collected the particulars wherein we agree, which I shall distinctly examine: the reader may find them p. 15, 16, which are these:—

1. "They both make the Catholic Church, one visible governed society, household or kingdom. This is the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*, the first and fundamental mistake, and a wilful one too; for I affirm the contrary in express words, in defence of Dr. Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation, p. 565, 566, upon occasion of that dispute "the constitutive regent head of a national Church;" I expressly assert, "that the unity, both of the national and universal Church, consists in one communion; that consent is all that is necessary to unite a body or society in one communion;—That their unity consists only in consent, not in any superior governing-ecclesiastical power on earth, which binds them together." So that I absolutely deny, that the Catholic Church, is one governed society, with one supreme government over the whole, p. 567. I assert, that "Christ hath instituted no such constitutive regent power of one

bishop over another in his Church ; and therefore, the union of particular Churches into one, must be made by consent, not by superiority of power," p. 564. I affirm, "That though a national church (and the reason is stronger for the universal Church) be one body, yet it is not such a political body as they describe, and cannot be according to its original constitution, which differs from secular forms of government (which have a supreme governing power) by that ancient Church canon of our Saviour's own decreeing. It shall not be so among you." And thus, "a national Church as governed by consent, may be one body in an ecclesiastical, though not in a civil political sense ;" that is, by one communion, not by one supreme governing power. The Dean, in answer to Mr. Baxter, who asserts a constitutive regent head of the national Church necessary to make it a Church, and yet allows, "that there is one catholic visible Church, and that all particular churches, as headed by their particular bishops or pastors, are parts of the universal Church ;" argues thus, "If this doctrine be true, and withal it be necessary, that every Church must have a constitutive regent part as essential to it ;* then it unavoidably follows, that there must be a catholic visible head to the catholic visible Church ; and so Mr. B.'s constitutive regent part of the Church, hath done the Pope a wonderful kindness, and made a very plausible plea for his universal pastorship." Where the Dean proves, that a constitutive regent head is not essential to the notion of a national Church, for then it must be essential to the catholic Church too ; and then there must be a supreme pastor, or some supreme governing power over the whole Church, which I suppose, is to deny that the catholic Church is one visible governed society. This argument I defended at large, and added (p. 576), "That to deny a Church can be one without a constitutive regent head, infers one of these two things. 1. Either that many particular churches cannot associate into one, for the joint exercise of discipline and government, which overthrows the very notion of catholic unity and communion. Or, 2. That there is and must be a power in the Church, superior to the episcopal power, which naturally sets up a Pope above bishops." Thus much for my agreement with them, that the catholic Church is one visible governed society, that is, which has a supreme power over the whole ; and if our author by this time does

* Def. p. 572.

not begin to colour, I will even blush for him. But by this the reader will perceive, what a hopeful cause this author has undertaken, to prove my agreement with the Church of Rome about the supremacy, either of the Pope or General Council, when I absolutely deny, that there is, or ought to be any such superior authority and jurisdiction over the whole Church. But to proceed.

He says, "They both pitch upon the episcopal government as distributed into the several subordinations of combined churches, as what is by divine institution made the government of the Church: a combination of diocesan churches to make up one provincial, whose bishops are in subordination to their metropolitan; a combination of provincial churches to make up a national, and the metropolitans in subordination to the primate; a combination of national churches to make up a patriarchal, and the primates in subordination to the patriarch; and a confederacy of patriarchal to make up one œcumenical, and every patriarch in subordination to the œcumenical bishop, or chief patriarch." This is an agreement with a witness; and if he can prove this, as he says he has done, of which more presently, we will never dispute more with them about Church-government; let us then consider the several steps and gradations of Church authority, which at last centres in an universal bishop.

1. The subordination of parochial presbyters, who are combined and united under the government of a diocesan bishop. Thus far we agree with him, and acknowledge a direct superiority of bishops over their respective presbyters; but we go not one step farther with him.

2. "A combination of diocesan churches to make up one provincial, whose bishops are in subordination to their metropolitan." * Such a combination I allow of, but the subordination I deny to be the original form of Church associations; and this one word, subordination which he has here thrust in, discovers the whole trick, and spoils our agreement quite. I assert, these combinations are for communion, not for government, and therefore there is no subordination required to such an union; he will have these combinations to be, not merely for communion, but for government, and that indeed requires a subordination; but these two notions do as vastly differ, as a friendly association for mutual advice and council, and a subjection to a superior authority. And that I have not altered my opinion, but that this was always my judgment in

the case, I shall now shew, and I need to that purpose only transcribe a page or two out of the Defence, p. 577, &c. "It is evident from the testimony of the earliest ages of the Church, that first the Apostles, and then the bishops as their successors, who were the supreme governors of the Church, had no higher order or power over them: and therefore Tertullian calls the bishops *Summi Sacerdotes*,* or the chief and highest priests; and *Optatus, Apices et Principes*, the tops and princes of all; which was the general language of those days; as any one who pleases, may learn from Dr. Barrow's learned treatise of the Pope's supremacy."†

"And as bishops were the highest governors of the Church, so every bishop was greatest in his own diocese; no other bishop, nor synod of bishops, could impose any thing on him, without his own consent; they met for advice and counsel, not for rule and empire; which Mr. B. tells us so often, was Archbishop Usher's judgment, and which plainly was the judgment and practice of antiquity, as appears from what I have already discoursed about catholic communion: it were easy to transcribe several passages out of St. Cyprian to this purpose, especially from his preface to the Council of Carthage, where he tells them, That they were met freely to declare their opinions about this matter (the rebaptization of those who had been baptized by heretics), judging no man, nor denying communion to him if he dissent: for neither doth any of us constitute himself bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical terror compel his colleagues to a necessity of obeying; since every bishop being free and in his own power, has his own power, has his own free choice, and can neither be judged by another, nor judge another; but let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone hath power both to advance us to the government of his Church, and judge of our government;" and in p. 679, I add,

"Nor does this overthrow that very ancient constitution of patriarchal or metropolitan churches; for a patriarch or metropolitan was not a superior order to bishops, nor included any authority over them, as is evident from what St. Cyprian discoursed, who was himself a primate, but only some pre-cedency in the same order, and such advantages of power in the government of the Church, as was given them by the

* Tert. de Bapt. c. 17. [Dandi quidem jus habet summus sacerdos qui est episcopus. p. 230, Par. 1695.]

† Barrow, Supremacy, p. 189, &c. 4to. [Lond. 1680.]

common consent of bishops for a greater public good ; as the power of calling provincial synods, and presiding in them, and a principal interest in the ordination of bishops in this province, and the like, which were determined and limited by ecclesiastical canons.

“ It is true this patriarchal power did in time degenerate into domination and empire, when it fell into the hands of ambitious men ; but was originally (and is so still, when wise and good men have the management of it) a very prudent constitution to preserve peace and order, and good discipline in the Church.

“ But that archbishops and metropolitans had no proper superiority and jurisdiction over bishops, is evident from what St. Jerome objects against the discipline of the Montanists ;* “ amongst us (*i. e.* the Catholics) the bishops enjoy the place of the apostles ; among them the bishop is but the third ; for they have the Patriarch of Pepusa in Phrygia for the first, those whom they call Cenomes for the second ; thus bishops are thrust down into the third, that is, almost the last place.” “ And yet in St. Jerome’s time the catholic Church had archbishops and metropolitans, but yet it seems not such as degraded bishops, or advanced any above them.” Whether this be true reasoning or no, shall be examined, when there is occasion for it ; all that I am concerned in at present, is only to shew, that I never asserted such an original combination of metropolitical churches, as placed bishops in subordination to the metropolitan, or gave him a direct authority or jurisdiction over them ; and here our agreement must for ever break off ; for if it will not reach to the jurisdiction of metropolitans and primates, much less will it extend to patriarchs, and least of all to an oecumenical pastor, whom I have in express terms rejected, and for what reason will appear anon.

3. The next instance of agreement is, that we both agree in giving to a General Council direct authority over their colleagues in matters that concern the purity of faith and manners, and the unity of the Church. But here are two considerable mistakes in this matter : 1. That I give this authority to a General Council. 2. That I give a General Council, or any other combination of bishops a direct authority over their colleagues.*

1. That I give this authority to General Councils. My dissenting adversaries began this charge, that I set up a General

* Hieron ad Marcel. Ep. 54. [Ep. 41. vol. 1. p. 187. Veron. 1735.]

Council, as a superior governing power over the whole Church, and consequently over all bishops, and therefore was no better than a Cassandrian or a French Papist ; and our author revives this charge without taking any notice, that it was ever objected and answered before : indeed he has objected nothing in this whole matter, but what was before objected by Dissenters with as much art and appearance of truth, as he has now given it : and I could more easily forgive it in them, because it might be an innocent mistake in them, till these notions were thoroughly sifted, and set in a better light ; but for our author to read that very book, the Vindication of the Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet, wherein all these objections were made and answered, and to renew the charge, and repeat the objections again, without taking notice of any answer that was given to them, is such a piece of ingenuity, as an honest Dissenter would be ashamed of. In my defence of the Dean, there was not one word which looked towards a General Council, excepting the *collegium episcopale*, or the episcopal college, which some mistook for a General Council ; but this mistake I rectified in the Vindication, p. 146. I observed, that Optatus called the whole body of bishops *collegium episcopale*, and upon the same account St. Cyprian and St. Augustine call all catholic bishops colleagues ; and they may as well say, “that when the Fathers speak of the unity of the episcopacy, they mean their union in General Council, as that they mean a General Council by the college of bishops.” In St. Cyprian’s time there never had been a General Council, excepting the Council of the Apostles at Jerusalem ; and yet when he wrote to foreign bishops, with whom he was never joined in council, nor ever like to be, he calls them his colleagues, or those of the same college with him ; which signifies no more than that they were of the same power and authority with him, and united in one communion. And what my thoughts are of a General Council, whoever pleases, may see some pages after, p. 162, 163, &c.

Nor do I give a direct authority to any bishops or council of bishops over their colleagues: this I expressly deny in forty places, as to be sure every man must do, who acknowledges, that all bishops have originally an equal power, and the supreme authority in their respective dioceses.* “That no bishops, either single or united, have any direct authority or superiority over each other. That the combinations of churches, and the synods and councils of bishops, are not for direct acts of

* Vindicat. p. 15.

government, and superiority of each other;”* with several other like expressions before quoted.

But do I not say, “that General Councils can have no direct authority over any bishops, who refuse to consent, unless it be in such matters as concern the purity of faith, and manners, and catholic unity?” And does not this infer, that they have a direct authority over them in such matters?

This possibly might lie a little out of our author’s reach, I not having occasion then given me to discourse it more at large; but if he had not understood this, it had been more modest and ingenuous to have thought it an unwary saying, or to have made a query upon it, and desired me to have reconciled this seeming contradiction, rather than to charge me with such principles, as I so often expressly and positively reject. But ingenuity and modesty are virtues not to be expected from such adversaries, and therefore I shall briefly state this matter also, by, 1. Shewing what I meant by matters which concern the purity of faith and manners and catholic unity. 2. What authority I gave to bishops, or a council of bishops over their colleagues in such cases, and how this is to be reconciled with my affirming, that the combinations of churches, and the synods and councils of bishops, are not for direct acts of government and superiority over each other, but only for mutual advice and counsel.

1. As for the first, when I say, “that neighbour bishops, or a council of bishops, have authority over their colleagues in matters which concern the purity of faith, and manners, and catholic unity,” it is plain that my meaning was not, and could not be, that such a council of bishops had authority to make what decrees they pleased in matters of faith or manners, or catholic unity, and impose them upon their colleagues by a direct and superior authority, without their own consent; for this is the very thing I disputed against; and yet this is the sense he would have put upon my words, and indeed no other sense of them can do the Church of Rome any service; but let any indifferent reader consider the whole paragraph, and freely judge whether this author be not a very candid interpreter. I was discoursing about General Councils,† “That it is not likely there should ever be a convention of bishops from all parts of the Christian world; nor if it were possible there should be some few bishops dispatched from all Christian churches, all the world over, can I see any reason why this

* P. 217.

† Vindicat. p. 162.

should be called a General Council, when it may be there are ten times as many bishops who did not come to the Council, as those who did; and why should the less number of bishops assembled in Council, judge for all the rest, who so far exceeded them in numbers, and it may be are not inferior to them in piety and wisdom; especially considering, that every bishop has the supreme government of his own church, and his liberty and power to choose for himself, as St. Cyprian tells us; and must not be compelled to obedience by any of his colleagues; which overthrows the proper jurisdiction of General Councils," which can have no direct authority over any bishops who refuse to consent, unless it be in such matters, as concern the purity of faith and manners, and catholic unity. Now if faith and manners, and catholic unity, were considered as the subject of conciliatory decrees, what greater authority could the Council of Trent itself desire than this, to have authority to make decrees about faith and manners, and catholic unity, which shall oblige all the bishops in the world? For I know not any thing else for a Council of Christian bishops to make decrees about: and therefore these matters which concern faith and manners, only relate to the faith and manners of the bishop; as I elsewhere expressly teach, that "a bishop cannot be imposed on against his own consent, by any bishop or council of bishops, nor can justly be deposed upon such accounts, while he neither corrupts the faith, nor schismatically divides the Church."* So that this authority refers not to the decrees of Councils about faith or manners, but it is only an authority of censuring heretical and schismatical bishops.

2. But that we may better understand the true state of this matter, let us consider what kind of authority this is: and,

1. I observe this is no act of authority over bishops considered as bishops, but over heretics and schismatics; and no man that I know of, ever denied the Church's power to censure heresy, or schism, or to correct the lives and manners of men; and if heretics and schismatics, wicked profligate persons, may be flung out of the Church; if any bishops be such, there is no reason their character should excuse them, for that does not lessen but aggravate their crime.

2. And therefore this is no usurpation upon the episcopal power and government; it is not imposing laws or rules on a bishop for the government of his church without his consent,

* Vindicat. p. 157.

which is an usurpation upon the episcopal authority; but it is only judging him unworthy to be a bishop, and committing the care of his flock to some more fit person.

3. This authority does not result from that superior jurisdiction, which one bishop, or all the bishops in the world have over any one single bishop, but from that obligation which every bishop has, as far as he can, to take care of the whole flock of Christ, as I explain it in the Vindication, p. 156: that the "unity of the episcopacy is the foundation of that authority which neighbour bishops have over their colleagues in case of heresy or schism, or any notorious wickedness; for they being bishops of the universal Church, have an original right and power (not to govern their colleagues, but) to take care that no part of the Church which is within their reach and inspection, suffer by the heresy or evil practices of their colleagues," which, as I observed in the Defence, p. 215, "is the reason St. Cyprian gives why there are so many bishops in the Christian Church, whom he calls a copious body of bishops, coupled by the cement of concord, and band of unity. That if any of our college (*i. e.* any bishop) should endeavour to broach any new heresy, or tear and spoil the flock of Christ, the rest may come in to their help, and like good and merciful pastors, gather again the sheep of Christ into the fold." So that this is not properly an authority over bishops, who have originally no superior jurisdiction over each other, but an obligation on all bishops, as far as they can, to see that no part of the Christian Church be corrupted with heresy, or divided by schisms; the discharge of which may empower them to remove heretical bishops, without any direct authority to govern bishops. So that this power of deposing heretical and wicked bishops does not contradict what I before asserted, that by original right all bishops are equal, and every bishop supreme in his own diocese, who cannot be compelled by other bishops to govern his church by such rules and laws as he himself does not assent to; and therefore that such combinations and councils of bishops are not originally for direct acts of government and superiority over each other, but only for mutual counsel and advice: for these are two very different things, to have authority to compel a bishop to govern his church by such laws as he himself in his own conscience does not approve; and to have authority to fling a notorious heretical or schismatical bishop out of their communion, and to command and exhort his presbyters and people

not to own him. St. Cyprian, I am sure, thought these two cases very different, for the first he utterly rejects as an usurpation on the episcopal authority, that it was to make themselves bishops of bishops, which he thought a great impiety; the other he practised himself in the case of Basilides and Martialis. For the first is a direct authority over bishops in the exercise of their episcopal function; the second is only an authority to censure heresy and schism, and to preserve the communion of the Church pure, and to defend the flock from such wolves in sheep's clothing.

But it may be it will be objected, that this comes much to one; for the authority of deposing heretical and schismatical bishops, infers an authority of declaring heresy and schism; and that of making or declaring articles of faith, and laws of catholic communion; for how can they depose heretics or schismatics without an authority of declaring what heresy and schism is? And this is as much authority as the Council of Trent itself would have desired; and therefore it seems very absurd and contradictory to deny a Council authority to oblige their colleagues by their decrees of faith, or manners, or catholic unity, and to give authority to neighbour bishops to depose or censure any heretical or schismatical bishop. To this purpose our author argues, p. 32, 33: "According to their doctrine, the bishops of Spain, France, Italy, and Germany, being bishops of the catholic Church, though ordinarily their power is confined to their particular churches, yet having an original right with relation to the whole catholic Church, are bound by the laws of communion to re-assume their original right, and assemble and summon before them the bishops of the Church of England; who, in their opinion, are fallen into a great schism and heresy; in which matters these bishops have a direct authority over the bishops of the Church of England, and may proceed against them, and depose them, and ordain others in their room, and oblige the people to withdraw from the communion of the deposed bishops; in which case the foreign bishops, being the governing part, have as much authority over the English bishops as the English bishops have over the Dissenters in England." He should have said, as the English bishops have over the Popish bishops of France, Spain, or Italy, and then he had come pretty near the matter. He adds:

"The larger the combination of bishops, the greater is their power and authority: and therefore, if the English bishops have

a direct authority over the Dissenters in England, so has greater combination of bishops over the dissenting English bishops ;” (that is, if bishops have authority over their own flocks, then the bishops of France and Spain have authority over English bishops ; if bishops must govern their own churches, other bishops may govern them ; an inference which, I believe, our author is the first man that ever made). “ And as the English bishops insist on their authority in decision of controversies, and the Dissenters must submit ; so may this greater college of bishops urge their authority, and the dissenting English bishops must submit, and may not be admitted to exercise their own judgment, or pretend conscience there, no more than the English Protestant Dissenter may do it here.

“ It must be carefully observed, that by these gentlemen the power is lodged with the college of catholic bishops : and so long as the Church of England acknowledges the bishops of these countries to be catholic bishops, as now they do” (just as we acknowledge the Church of Rome to be part of the catholic Church, but a very corrupt and schismatical part of it), “ they cannot question their power, that they must acknowledge ; and by the laws of catholic communion must obey a college of them, and appear before them, when summoned. The greatest thing that they can, with any pretence, insist on, is the justness of their cause, of which they are no more competent judges before this college, than the Dissenters are, when before these bishops here.” What happy days would the Church of Rome see, were things brought to this pass ! But how impertinent all his talk of the college of bishops is, has been already shewn, and will be more in what follows. All that I observe at present is, how he turns the power of deposing and censuring heretical and schismatical bishops into a power of declaring heresy, and judging whether they be heretic or not, by such a final and uncontrollable power, as heretics themselves are bound to submit to : and which is more ridiculous than that, if one Church agrees to accuse another Church of heresy, the accusers alone must be judges, and the accused are very incompetent judges of it, because, forsooth, they are accused. But this matter may be stated without setting up such a sovereign tribunal for judging of heresies. For,

1. That heretical bishops may be deposed, I think all agree.

2. And there is as little question, but that orthodox and catholic bishops, who have the care of the Church com-

mitted to them, have this power of deposing: that is, of casting such a bishop out of their communion, and exhorting his people to withdraw communion from him, and to accept of a catholic bishop in his stead; which is all that the ecclesiastical power of deposing signifies.

3. There is no question neither, but that all bishops will call that heresy, which they themselves think to be so, and will judge those to be heretics who profess such doctrines as they call heresy.

4. But it does not hence follow, that any bishops, or any number of bishops, however assembled, have such an authority to define articles of faith, or to declare heresy, as shall oblige all men to believe that to be heresy which they decree to be so.

5. And therefore the effects of these censures must of necessity depend upon that opinion which people have of them. Those who believe the censure just, will withdraw themselves from the communion of such a bishop; those who do not believe it just, will still communicate with him. For whoever pronounces the sentence (excepting the interposing of secular power), the people must execute it, and if they will still adhere to their bishop, he may defy his deponents, and all their power: as the English bishops and people do all the anathemas of the Church of Rome.

6. And whether they do right or wrong in this, their own consciences must judge in this world, and God will judge in the next. This is all that can be said or done in such a broken and divided state of the Church as we now see. While nothing was called heresy but the denial of some plain and acknowledged article of the Christian faith, while there was no dispute who were heretics, the power of deposing heretics was sacred and venerable, and had its just authority and effect; but since what is heresy is the controversy, and the world is divided about it, though the power remains still, the exercise of it grows very contemptible when a Church first coins new articles of faith, and then excommunicates, censures, and deposes those for heretics who will not believe them.

4thly. We are come now to the last point wherein he says we agree, *viz.* "to give to one bishop a primacy for the better preserving catholic union, and also a superior power of appeals, and exercising some peculiar acts of discipline under the regulation of ecclesiastical canons." Now all this indeed I do assert, and yet we are very far from agreeing in this mat-

ter. For though they made no more of the Pope than a mere primate, which I doubt is not good doctrine in Rome, yet there is as much difference between our primates as there is between a national and œcumenical primate, and consequently as much difference between our appeals, as between appeals to Rome, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as between appeals to the primate of a national Church, and appeals to foreign bishops. I know he disputes very learnedly, that such an œcumenical combination of churches, and an œcumenical primate, is more for the preservation of catholic unity, than a national Church or primate; but this he knew I denied, and therefore should not have said that I agree with them in it, and who has the best reason on their side shall be examined presently.

By this time, I suppose, the reader is satisfied how far we agree in these things, I having in express words denied every thing which he has affirmed in those very books to which he has appealed; which I think is no great sign of agreement.

2. It is time now to vindicate those passages which he quotes out of my book, and on which he founds this pretence of agreement between us; and to do this effectually and plainly, I must as I go along briefly explain some of my principles, which our author did not either understand, or did wilfully misrepresent.

All the sayings he has picked up and brought together from one end of the book to the other, relate to one of these two principles, the unity of the Church, which is one communion; or, the union of the episcopacy.

1. As for the first of these, the unity of the Church, the whole mystery of it is no more but this, that the whole Christian Church, by the institution of our Saviour, is but one Church, and this one Church is one communion, that is, one body and society, whereof all Christians are members, and wherein they have a right to communicate in all Christian privileges, and have both a right and obligation to communicate in all Christian duties. This our author puts in the second place, though it ought to be first, as being the foundation of all: "That all Christians and Christian Churches in the world are one body, society, or Church, and this is called catholic communion;"* for they being all one body, they communicate with each other in this one body, in all the duties and privileges of it; and what advantage he can make of this,

* Agreement, p. 7.

I cannot yet guess, unless he thinks that the very name *catholic*, being one of Bellarmine's Notes of the Church, *catholic communion* must signify the communion of the Catholic Church of Rome.

My adversaries hearing this word *communion*, presently concluded, that I placed the unity of the Church in some mere transient acts of communion, and disputed very earnestly against it, as well they might; but this mistake I rectified in my Vindication, and shewed them, that "one communion signifies one body and society, in which all the members communicate with each other;"* which I explained by this familiar comparison: "Suppose the whole world were one family, or one kingdom, in which every particular man, according to his rank and station, enjoys equal privileges; in this case, the necessity of affairs would require, that men should live in distinct houses and distinct countries, as now they do all the world over: but yet if every man enjoyed the same liberty and privileges wherever he went, as he does now in his own house and country, the whole world would be but one house and family, or universal kingdom; and whosoever should resolve to live by himself, and not receive any others into his family, nor allow them the liberty of his house, would be guilty of making a schism in this great family of the world: and what nation soever should deny the rights and privileges of natural subjects to the inhabitants of other countries, would make a schism, and rent itself from this universal kingdom." I added,

"Thus it is here; the Church of Christ is but one body, one Church, one household and family, one kingdom." These words our author sets in the front, and thinks to make something of them: for "seeing all know, that to make the whole world one universal kingdom, it is necessary that it be subjected under one governing head; it unavoidably follows, that unless in the catholic Church there be one supreme governing head, it cannot be like to an universal kingdom, an organised politic body." Very right! Had I compared the catholic Church to an universal kingdom, with respect to government, the consequence had been good; but comparing it only with respect to communion, the consequence is ridiculous; and yet this was all I intended in the comparison, as appears from the application of it. "And therefore, though the necessity of affairs requires, that neighbour Christians combine themselves into particular churches and particular

* Vindicat. p. 36.

congregations, as the world is divided into particular families and kingdoms (which shews, that I no more subject the Church to one governing head, than I do the world to one universal monarch, now it is divided into particular kingdoms), yet every Christian by virtue of his Christianity hath the same right and privilege, and the same obligation to communion, as occasion serves, with all the churches in the world, that he has with that particular church wherein he lives ; wherever he removes his dwelling, whatever church he goes to, he is still in the same family, the same kingdom, and the same Church." Now whether this be a good consequence, that because I make the whole Christian Church one family and kingdom, with respect to Christian communion ; that is, that all true Christians have a right to communion in all true Christian Churches in the world, therefore I subject the whole Christian Church to one supreme governing head on earth (for with respect to Christ, who is the true and only Head of his Church, we will allow it to be one kingdom and family in this sense), I say, let any man judge of this who understands consequences. If our author did not see this, the reader may judge of his understanding ; if he did, he may judge of his honesty. And thus his foundation is gone, and then all the superstructure is but a castle in the air : for if the universal Church be not one organised politic body, as according to my principles it is not, then it cannot be subjected to one governing head, neither to the Pope nor a General Council.

His third charge is, that I make "somewhat more necessary to catholic communion than an agreement in the same faith, the same rules of worship, and right administration of the sacraments ;" that is, catholic communion is our union in one body, and communicating in this one body is the exercise of catholic communion, which those who do not, if there be not a just and necessary cause for it, are schismatics for all that, whatever their faith and worship be ; and schism is a damning sin. But how does this make anything more necessary to catholic communion, than the same faith, the same worship, the same sacraments ? These are all the catholic terms of catholic communion ; but if these do not unite us into one body, we are not united for all that : not that anything else is wanting to make this union ; but because through the lusts, and vices, and passions of men, an union does not follow upon it : but he was sensible, that catholic communion alone would not do his business, would not prove the necessity of one

supreme governing head (whether the Pope, or a General Council) over the whole Church; and therefore he insinuates, that I make something else the necessary terms of catholic communion, besides the true Christian faith, worship, and sacraments; and what should that be, do you think, but subjection to one supreme head, which you shall see how learnedly he proves; for he adds:—

4. “That what is further necessary to catholic communion, is a catholic government, namely the episcopal.” Now all these words I have used upon one occasion or other, but there is no such proposition as this in all my book. I do allow episcopacy to be an apostolical institution, and the truly ancient and catholic government of the Church, of which more hereafter; but yet in this very book, I prove industriously, and at large, that in case of necessity, when bishops cannot be had, a Church may be a truly Catholic Church, and such as we may and ought to communicate with, without bishops, in vindication of some foreign Reformed Churches,* who have none; and therefore I do not make episcopacy so absolutely necessary to catholic communion, as to unchurch all Churches which have it not.

But the remainder of his quotations referring to the unity of the episcopacy, I must briefly explain what my notion is about it; and truly I have proceeded all along upon St. Cyprian’s principles, and he must answer for it, if he have misled me. St. Cyprian taught me, that there is “one episcopacy,† part of which every bishop holds with full authority and power,” where by one episcopacy St. Cyprian understands one bishopric, that is, the universal Church, which as it is but one Church, is but one bishopric also; it being all under the government of the episcopal power. But then this bishopric is divided into parts, into particular dioceses, and every bishop has a part of this universal bishopric, which he has in *solidum*; that is, he has his part to govern with the fulness and plentitude of the episcopal power, without any superior authority or jurisdiction over him. This I take to be the plainest and easiest interpretation of St. Cyprian’s words; for though all learned men have agreed in the same sense, yet the phrase has a little puzzled them; for if by one episcopacy, we understand one episcopal office and power,

* See Vindication of the Defence, p. 329, &c.

† *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.* Cyprian. de Unitate. [p. 108. Oxon. 1682.] See the Defence, p. 20 8, &c

though the sense will be the same, yet the expression is very obscure ; for how can every bishop have but one part of the episcopal office in *solidum* ; that is, part of the office, and the whole power ? But if by one episcopacy we understand one bishopric, and the universal Church may as properly be called one bishopric, as one Church, and one sheepfold, then it is all plain, that there is but one bishopric, of which every bishop has his part, in which he exercises the whole episcopal authority and power. Another principle of St. Cyprian's is, that this one episcopacy,* or one bishopric, is preserved one by the concord and agreement of bishops ; for if the bishops disagree, who have the supreme government of their own churches, this must of necessity divide the bishopric and the Church ; but this one bishopric is spread over the world, by the consenting multitude of many bishops ; which, as I observed, he calls the unity and peace of the episcopacy : and for the same reason Optatus calls it the episcopal college ; and bishops are called colleagues. And St. Cyprian tells us, " the catholic Church† is not rent, nor divided, but united and coupled by the cement of bishops, who stick close together."

Another principle is, that no bishop, nor college of bishops, have a direct authority or jurisdiction over their colleagues, to compel them to submit to their decrees and definitions, against their own judgment and conscience : that none of them pretended to be bishops of bishops, which he abhors as a tyrannical usurpation, as we see in his preface to the Council of Carthage. Another principle is, that since there is but one episcopacy or bishopric, every bishop, besides the supreme government of his own particular diocese, has such a relation to the whole Church, that he is to take care, as much as in him lies, to see that no part of the Church suffer by the heresies or schism of their bishops ; which is the reason, as I observed before, St. Cyprian gives, why there are so many bishops in the Christian Church, " that if any of our college (*i.e.* any bishop) should endeavour to broach any new heresy, or to tear and spoil the flock of Christ,‡ the rest may come in to their help, and like good and merciful pastors, gather again the sheep of Christ into their fold."

* Unus Episcopatus, Episcoporum multorum concordii numerositate diffusus, Cyp. ad Antonian. Ep. 52. Pam. [Ep. 55. *ibid.* p. 112.]

† Quando Ecclesia, quæ Catholica una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, et coherentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata. Cyp. r. Ep. 69. ad Florentium Pupianum. [Ep. 66. *ibid.* p. 168.]

‡ Cyp. ad Stephan. Ep. 67. [Ep. 68. *ibid.* p. 178.]

These are the principles I learnt from St. Cyprian; and if our author can find a supreme head of the universal Church, whether Pope or General Council, in this scheme, I am sure St. Cyprian could not, who disowns any such superior authority to bishops.

Let us then now return to our author, who observes, that I assert, "that all the bishops of the Church are but one also (which a little differs from one bishop's being all), invested with the same power and authority to govern the Church (for which I quoted St. Cyprian, though he thinks fit to leave him out); that as St. Cyprian* tells us there is but one episcopacy, part of which every bishop holds with full authority and power; that all these bishops are but one body, who are bound to live in communion with each other, and to govern their respective churches, where need requires, and where it can be had, by mutual advice and consent; and therefore that no bishops are absolutely independent, but are obliged to preserve the unity of the episcopacy, or episcopal college, as Optatus calls it (which words our author leaves out, as being afraid of naming the authority of any Father in the case), whereon the unity and communion of the catholic Church depend." Thus far our author recites my words, and here breaks off; but I shall beg leave to go on: "For it is impossible the catholic Church should be one body or society, or one communion, if it be divided into as many independent churches, as there are absolute and independent bishops: for those churches must be independent which have an independent power and government, as all those must have, which have independent governors and bishops; and independent churches can never make one body and one catholic communion; because they are not members of each other; and thus the unity of the catholic Church must be destroyed, unless we assert one episcopacy as well as one Church, one evangelical priesthood as well as one altar, all the world over."

Here I must stop a little, for here he seems to lay his foundation whereon to erect his Papal monarchy, or his sovereign power of General Councils; that I assert, that bishops are not absolutely independent; and therefore he supposes, that they must be subordinate too to some higher power and jurisdiction. How far I am from asserting any such supreme power over the whole Church, I have already shewn; and now I must

vindicate this principle, "that bishops are not absolutely independent," from any such consequence, which is no very difficult task, if men will consider what I mean by the independency of bishops, and for what reason I asserted, that bishops are not absolutely independent. For the independency I deny, is such an independency as is opposed to the unity of the episcopacy, and to their obligation to live in communion with each other; for because there is but one episcopacy, because all bishops are but one body, therefore I assert, they are not absolutely independent, but are obliged to preserve the unity of the episcopacy, or episcopal college: for absolute independency excludes all necessary obligations to unity and communion, as well as to subjection. An absolute independent sovereign prince is no more bound by the laws of sovereignty to live in unity, than to own subjection to neighbour princes; now bishops indeed as to subjection are independent, for there is no superior authority in the Church over them, as I have always asserted; but they are not independent as to unity and communion; for the fundamental laws of one episcopacy oblige them to unity and communion, and that obliges them to govern their churches by mutual advice, without which this unity cannot be preserved. I am sure St. Cyprian* lays so much stress on this, that he expressly asserts, that "he cannot have the power nor the honour of a bishop, who will not maintain the unity and the peace of the episcopacy." Now I cannot think such bishops absolutely independent, though they are subject to no superior authority, who depend upon preserving the unity and peace of the episcopacy, for the very power and dignity of bishops.

I deny such an independency of bishops, as makes their churches independent, which destroys catholic communion, as I shewed in those words which our author suppressed, that unity of the catholic Church depends upon the unity of the episcopacy: "For it is impossible, the catholic Church should be one body or society, or one communion, if it be divided into as many independent churches, as there are absolute and independent bishops; for those churches must be independent, which have an independent power and government, as all those must have, who have independent governors, or bishops; and independent churches can never make one

* *Episcopi nec potestatem habere potest nec honorem, qui Episcopatus nec unitatem tenere voluit, nec pacem.* Cyp. ad Anton. Ep. 52. [Ep. 55. *ibid.* p. 112.]

body, and one catholic communion, because they are not members of each other." Now this independency of churches, which I condemn, is not opposed to a superior jurisdiction; for so churches, as well as bishops, are originally independent: but it is opposed to their being such distinct and separate bodies as are not members of each other, which destroys catholic communion, or makes it arbitrary. And this is the independency of bishops which I deny; such an independency as overthrows the unity of the episcopacy, and consequently the unity of the Church.

Nay, I further deny the independency of bishops, as that signifies an exemption from all censures in case of heresy, and schism, and idolatry, and such like evil practices; which does not infer a superior authority of one bishop over another, but only an authority in the Church to censure such crimes, whoever be guilty of them; as I have already explained it at large: so that my notion of the independency of bishops, will do no service at all to the Pope or General Council.

5. He proceeds in his charge: "The power of every bishop in his own diocese, is not so absolute and independent, but that he is bound to preserve the unity of the episcopacy, and to live in communion with his colleagues and fellow bishops; for this is the foundation of catholic communion, without which there can be no catholic Church." This has been accounted for already, and whoever observes, that the reason of all is laid upon the preservation of catholic communion, will easily guess, how little this makes for an universal power and empire over the Church. He proceeds, "The whole authority of a bishop, or Council, over other bishops, is founded on the laws of catholic communion, which is the great end it serves;" and therefore it does not prove a supreme governing head over the Church, and therefore they have no proper authority, but only in such matters as concern the unity of the episcopacy, or the peace and communion of the catholic Church; this also has been sufficiently explained before. Again, "This unity of the episcopacy is the foundation of those larger combinations and confederacies of neighbour churches, which make archiepiscopal or national churches: for since there is but one episcopacy, it is highly reasonable and necessary, so far as it is practicable, they should all act and govern their respective churches as one bishop, with one consent, which is the most effectual way to secure the peace and unity of the episcopal college, and to promote the edification and good government

of the Church. Nay, this unity of the episcopacy is the foundation of that authority which neighbour bishops have over their colleagues in case of heresy and schism, or any other notorious wickedness; for they being bishops of the universal Church, have an original right and power to take care, that no part of the Church, which is within their reach and inspection, suffer by the heresy, or evil practices of their colleagues."

Here is a good long quotation, if any body knew to what purpose it served. I own the words, and know not how I could say the same thing better, if I were to say it again. I am still of the same mind, that such combinations of bishops, for mutual advice and counsel, is of great benefit and use for the good government of the Church; but if he would insinuate (as that, if any thing, must be his design) that these combinations of bishops are for the exercise of authority over their colleagues, this I absolutely deny. "They are to advise and consult with each other, not as with superior governors, who are to determine them, and give laws to them, but as with friends and colleagues of the same body and communion;" as I expressly affirm, *Vindicat.* p. 127. May not bishops meet together for common advice, without erecting a sovereign tribunal to determine all controversies, and make ecclesiastical laws, and impose them upon their colleagues, without their own consent? when though the least, yet it may be the best and wisest part of the council, are of another mind. Is there no difference between advising with our equals, and making them our superiors? May it not be a very great fault, and very near the guilt of schism, for a bishop without any cause, but mere humour and wilfulness, to reject such rules and orders of discipline and government, which are agreed by the unanimous consent of neighbour bishops, unless we give a superior authority to such Synods over their colleagues?

6. His next charge is, that "the college of bishops may grant unto some one bishop a primacy for the preservation of catholic unity and communion, who by a general consent may be intrusted with a superior power of calling Synods, receiving appeals, and exercising some peculiar acts of discipline under the regulation of ecclesiastical canons."

This sentence he has made up of two places in my book, above fifty pages distant, p. 127, and p. 185, for he durst not quote either of them entire, and therefore I shall be at the pains to transcribe them both, that the indifferent reader may

judge of them. *Vind.* p. 127, there are these words: "This makes it highly reasonable for neighbour bishops, at as great a distance as the thing is practicable with ease and convenience, as the bishops of the same province, or of the same nation, to live together in a strict association and confederacy; to meet in Synods, and provincial or national councils, to order all the affairs of their several churches by mutual advice, and to oblige themselves to the same rules of discipline and worship. This has been the practice of the Church from the very beginning, and seems to be the true original of archiepiscopal and metropolitan churches, which were so early, that it is most probable they had their beginning in the Apostles' days: for though all bishops have originally equal right and power in Church affairs, yet there may be a primacy of order granted to some bishops, and their chairs, by a general consent, and under the regulation of ecclesiastical canons, for the preservation of catholic unity and communion, without any antichristian encroachments or usurpation on the episcopal authority.

"For (as I proceed) this combination of churches and bishops does not, and ought not to introduce a direct superiority of one bishop or church over another; or of such Synods and Councils over particular bishops. Every bishop is the proper governor of his own diocese still, and cannot be regularly imposed on against his consent.—If a bishop differ from his colleagues, assembled in Synods or provincial Councils, or one national or provincial Council differ from another, in matters of prudence and rules of discipline, without either corrupting the faith or dividing the Church, if we believe St. Cyprian in his preface to the Council of Carthage, they ought not to deny him communion upon such accounts, nor to offer any force to him in such matters."

In p. 184 I discoursed much to the same purpose: "That for the preservation of peace and order in this united body, or confederation of neighbour churches, one or more bishops may by a general consent be intrusted with a superior power of calling Synods, receiving appeals, and exercising some peculiar acts of discipline, under the regulation of ecclesiastical canons, which is the power now ascribed to archbishops and metropolitans.

"But yet there cannot be but one constitutive ecclesiastical regent head in a national, much less in the universal Church; not monarchical, because no one bishop has an original right

to govern the rest in any nation, and, therefore, whatever power may be granted him by consent, yet it is not essential to the being or unity of the Church, which is one, not by being united under one superior governing power, but by living in one communion: not aristocratical, because every bishop being supreme in his own diocese, and accountable to Christ for his government, cannot, and ought not, so wholly to divest himself of this power, as to be in all cases necessarily determined, and overruled by the major vote, contrary to his own judgment and conscience.—All the bishops in a nation, much less all the bishops in the world, cannot unite into such a colleague, as shall by a supreme authority govern all bishops and churches by a major vote, which is the form of aristocratical government, and for the same reason a national Church considered as a Church, cannot be under the government of a democratical head; for if the college of bishops have not this power, much less has a mixed college of bishops and people.”

Thus careful was I to secure the episcopal authority from such encroachments and usurpations as it now groans under in the Church of Rome; from placing the unity of the Church in such a superior governing head, whether primate or synod; and now let him make the best he can of this primacy, which he should have called a primacy of order, as I did, and not absolutely a primacy, which may signify a primacy of power and authority, which I positively deny he has over any of his colleagues. In a body of equals, though there is no superiority, there must be order; and therefore some one must have authority to convene the assembly, and to preside in it, and if the synod see fit may in some cases be intrusted with a superior power of executing their decrees, which involves no direct superiority over any of his colleagues. All that I intended in these discourses was to shew what power a national or provincial synod, archbishops and metropolitans, might have, upon St. Cyprian's principles, without encroaching upon the original and essential rights of the episcopacy; and those who will allow St. Cyprian's principles, I believe, will confess that I have truly and fairly stated the bounds of pure ecclesiastical authority. If archbishops and metropolitans have a greater power than this, by the constitutions and laws of princes, since the Church is incorporated into the State, that I meddle not with, for it is not a pure ecclesiastical authority, but must be accounted for upon other principles.

Well! but I assert, “that catholic communion is a Divine

institution, and then the combination of churches for catholic communion is Divine also ;”* and thus national Churches, archbishops, metropolitans, primates, are of Divine institution ; but had our author transcribed the whole sentence, every reader would easily have seen how little it is to his purpose. The words are these : “ The patriarchal or metropolitical church form is an ecclesiastical constitution (and therefore certainly not an immediate Divine institution), though not therefore accidental (according to the phrase of my Dissenting adversary), but catholic communion is a Divine institution, and therefore the combination of churches for catholic communion is Divine also, though the particular forms of such combinations may be regulated and determined by ecclesiastical prudence, which differs somewhat from what we call mere human prudence ; because it is not the result of mere natural reason, but founded on, and accommodated to a Divine institution.”† So that here is no archbishop, no primate, no particular forms of combinations of churches, of Divine institution ; they are ecclesiastical constitutions, which may be regulated and altered by ecclesiastical prudence ; but catholic communion is a Divine institution, and therefore that bishops and churches should unite for the preservation of catholic communion is Divine, though the particular forms of such combinations may be determined by ecclesiastical prudence, which is somewhat more sacred than human prudence, because it is founded on and accommodated to a Divine institution. I suppose the reader is by this time very well satisfied about our author’s justice in his quotations, as the Prefacer speaks.

7. He observes, that I teach, that “ a compliance with the order, government, discipline, and worship, as well as the doctrine of the catholic Church is necessary to catholic communion. For all Christians and Christian Churches are but one body, and are thereby obliged to all duties, offices, and acts of Christian communion, which are consequent upon such a relation. The catholic Church is one body and society, wherein all the members thereof have equal right and obligation to Christian communion.” This he puts all together as one entire reasoning, though the parts of it are above three hundred pages distant, as he owns in the margin, and belong to very different things, which is a very honest way of quoting, by which means we may make any author speak what we please, as

* Agreement, p. 13.

† Vindic. p. 195, 196.

the history of the Gospel has been described in Virgil's verse. The latter part of these words concern the obligation of all Christians to catholic communion, which, what it is, I have already explained. In the former part he would insinuate, that I make it necessary to catholic communion, that all churches should observe the same particular orders, forms of government, rites, and modes of discipline and worship; and makes me give a very senseless reason for it, because all "Christians and Christian Churches are but one body, and are thereby obliged to all duties, offices, and acts of Christian communion, which are consequent upon such a relation." As if Christian Churches could maintain no communion with each other, unless they used the same liturgy, the same rites and ceremonies, and were all governed by the same ecclesiastical canons; whereas we know, that all churches in all ages have had peculiar liturgies, peculiar rites and ceremonies, peculiar fasts and feasts, peculiar canons and rules of discipline of their own; as there are in many cases at this day in the Church of Rome, especially among their religious orders.

In the place from which he quotes these words, I was vindicating* the terms of communion in the Church of England to be truly catholic. P. 392, there are these words: "For the terms of our communion are as catholic as our Church is; diocesan episcopacy, liturgies and ceremonies, have been received in all churches for many hundred years, and are the settled constitution of most churches to this day; and this is the constitution of the Church of England, and the terms of our communion, and must be acknowledged to be catholic terms, if by catholic terms he means what has actually been received by the catholic Church." After much more of this argument, I add the words he quotes, "that though it be hard to determine what is in its own nature absolutely necessary to catholic communion, yet I can tell him *de facto* what is, viz. a compliance with the order, government, discipline and worship, as well as the doctrine of the catholic Church. He who will not do this must separate from the catholic Church, and try it at the last day who was in the right. I am content our Dissenters should talk on of unscriptural terms of communion, so they will but grant, that the Church of England is no more guilty of imposing unscriptural terms than the catholic Church itself has, always been;

* Vindic. p. 396.

and when they have confidence enough to deny this, I will prove it, and shall desire no better vindication of the Church of England than the practice of the catholic Church." This is so plain, that I need say nothing more to explain it, that if we will live in catholic communion, we must own episcopacy, liturgies, ceremonies, which has been the ancient government, worship, discipline of the Church, and those who upon pretence of unscriptural terms separate from the Church of England for the sake of such catholic practices, by the same reason must have renounced the communion of the best and purest and most catholic Church since the Apostles' days. But how far I ever was from thinking, that the particular rites and modes of worship must be the same in all churches, and that there can be no communion without this, any man may satisfy himself, who will be pleased to read some few pages in the Vindication, beginning at page 372; where I shew how impossible it is to maintain catholic communion between distinct churches, without allowing of such diversity of rites which are, and always were, practised in different churches.

Thus I have done with our author's quotations, and what agreement there is between us the reader must judge. And now he pretends to draw up my argument against the Dissenters, which he says proceeds upon Roman Catholic principles. But I shall not trouble myself to examine whether my arguments against the Dissenters were good or no, for I have no dispute with them now, and will have none; but if they ever were good, they are not Roman Catholic principles which make them so; for I have no Roman Catholic principle in all my book. As for what he so often triumphs in, the late King's paper, I tell him once for all, I will have no dispute with kings; but if he have anything to say, let him fetch his arguments whence he will, without alleging the King's authority to make them good, and he shall have an answer.

And now from quoting, our author falls to disputing me into an agreement, which methinks argues that we are not agreed, or, at least, that I do not know we are: for what need of disputing, if, as the title of his book says, we are agreed already; but, however, the dispute is like to be but short, and therefore we will patiently bear it.

Now to trace us to St. Peter's chair, he thus begins: "For by their making the catholic Church one body, one household, one kingdom or governed society, that has a governing and governed part, they must necessarily be for a catholic hierarchy,

as what alone is a fit government for so great a body politic ;" that is, if the whole Church be one body politic, over which there must be one supreme governing head, then we must acknowledge the authority of the Pope or General Council over the whole Church, which is a demonstration. But if we do not make the whole Church one such organised politic body, but only one communion (as it has appeared, we do not), then there is no necessity of one supreme government over the whole Church, but it is sufficient if the Church be governed by parts, by bishops, who have all equal authority, but agree in the same communion, and govern their particular churches by common advice ; and in this case there is a governing and a governed part, but no one supreme head. And thus all his reasoning is at an end ; for ~~to~~ destroy this one principle, that the whole catholic Church is one politic, organized body, with one supreme power over the whole, and there is an end of the authority both of Popes and General Councils.

But he will not give up the cause thus ; for, says he, " Let us, therefore, a little more clearly observe what these Church of England clergymen affirm, and we shall find their notion about Church government exactly formed according to the Roman model." Well, Sir ! watch us as narrowly as you can, and see the end of it. " For," says he, " there can be no one catholic communion without one catholic government." But what does he mean by one catholic government ? One superior power over the whole catholic Church ? And whoever said this, and where ? We say, that the unity of the episcopacy, or the communion and good correspondency of bishops, is necessary to preserve catholic communion among their several churches, but we never said that one catholic government or superior power over the whole Church is necessary to this end. He proceeds : " And that catholic unity and communion may be the more securely preserved, the combination of churches, considered as pure ecclesiastical societies, into archiepiscopal and national churches, is necessary." Not absolutely necessary, but highly expedient ; but then our author must remember withal, that these combinations of churches are not for a superior authority and government over bishops, but only for mutual counsel and advice, and then let him make the best of it. And so he will make what he can of it, for he adds, " so that the great end of the combination of diocesan into provincial and national churches is the preserving catholic communion." Right ! remember,

that, that it is for communion, not for government, and all is well. "Which cannot be, but by raising the combination higher, and extending it much farther, even unto patriarchal, and at last into one œcumenical combined Church; for this alone is commensurate to catholic communion."

Well! suppose then all the bishops in the world could meet together for counsel and advice, as the bishops of a province or nation can, and had just such an œcumenical, as there are national primates, what service would this do the Church of Rome? For here is no supreme power all this while over the universal Church, neither Pope nor General Council: here is no œcumenical pastor, no supreme tribunal, which all the world is bound to obey. For, as I have already shewn, we do not make a primate or national synod, the constitutive regent head of a national Church, but only a great Council for mutual advice; and therefore were there such an œcumenical primate, and œcumenical council, yet it would as vastly differ from the Roman model, as a Council for advice, and a Council for government; as an œcumenical head and pastor, and the president of an œcumenical Council; and the Church of Rome is at a very low ebb, if it can be contented with such a primate, and such a Council as this, which essentially differ from what the Councils of Constance and Basil themselves attribute to Popes and Councils: but besides this, if such an œcumenical combination of bishops and churches cannot be, and there be no need of it to catholic communion, then I suppose our author will grant that the argument from a national combination of churches, and a national primate, to an œcumenical combination of churches, and an œcumenical primate, is not good.

1. Then this cannot be, and that for this plain reason, because all the bishops of the Christian Church cannot meet together from all parts of the world; and if they could, they ought not to forsake their churches for so long a time as such a journey, and such a consultation requires. But you will say, every nation may spare some bishops to send with full authority to the Council, as the representatives of all the rest. This I take to be next to a moral impossibility; I am sure it was never yet done; there never was such a Council, as had some bishops in it from all parts of the Christian world. But suppose this could be done, these bishops, who meet in Council, could represent nobody but themselves, and therefore can make no such decrees, as by their own authority shall oblige all the other bishops, who were not present. For a bishop is not a

representable person ; he is the supreme governor in his own diocese, and cannot, and ought not, to be imposed on without his own consent ; his trust and office and power is personal, and so is his account ; and therefore he can no more be represented in a Council, than he can at the day of judgment : every man's conscience and soul must be in his own keeping ; and therefore can be represented by no man. Had the representatives of the catholic Church a divine authority, superior to all particular churches and bishops, to oblige them to stand to their decrees, as the Church of Rome asserts a General Council has, then indeed some few bishops, chose by their national and provincial bishops to go to the Council, and to act as the representatives of such churches, might have a plenary authority to debate and determine all matters in dispute, whether relating to faith, or worship, or discipline. But such an authority as this he knows we absolutely deny, and assert that Councils are only for mutual advice, and can oblige no bishops without their personal assent ; and this makes it ridiculous to talk of representatives in giving and taking advice, which is a personal act, and requires every man's own judgment, and his personal assent.

I deny not but it may be of great use for Christian princes and emperors, to summon such Councils as these, as Constantine and other succeeding emperors did ; for there was no such thing as what we call a General Council, till Constantine summoned the first Council at Nicc. For Christian princes and emperors are concerned to encourage and support the true Christian faith and worship ; and they are as much concerned not to be misguided in these matters, which instead of nursing fathers, may make them persecutors of the true Church : and to prevent this, they cannot take a better way, when the Church is divided by schisms and heresies, than to summon such a great Council, where the matters in dispute may be freely debated ; but I look upon these rather to be Councils of the empire, than of the Church, which have no other authority, but what either the imperial sanctions give them, or what every Church gives them, by receiving their decrees : and it is evident from ecclesiastical story, that the bare authority of these Councils never put an end to any one dispute, any farther than they were backed by the imperial power ; which is an argument that they did not believe in those days such Councils to be infallible, or to be the supreme tribunal of the Christian Church. They were indeed supreme tribunals when

princes made them so, but not by any mere ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction; if then a Council of bishops be only for mutual advice, and a Council for advice requires the personal presence of all bishops, and though all the bishops of one province, or one nation, may conveniently enough meet together for advice, yet, all the bishops of the world cannot; then I think it is plain, that the consequence from a national to an œcumenical Council, is not good. Especially,

2ndly. Since there is no need of it to catholic communion. The Christian churches maintained a very strict alliance and communion with each other for above three hundred years without it; catholic communion was better preserved then than ever it has been since, which is a demonstration that such a supreme governing power over the whole Church is not necessary to catholic communion; for then catholic communion could never have been maintained without it; and yet thus it was in St. Cyprian's days, who was as zealous an asserter of catholic communion as any before or since.

In those days, the bishops of neighbour churches frequently met together to advise about the general concerns of the Church, and if anything happened which concerned the discipline of the whole Church, as it did in St. Cyprian's days, about the case of the lapsed, and rebaptizing those who had been baptized by heretics; they sent their letters to foreign churches, and took their advice about, and by this means did more perfectly understand one another's judgments and reasons, and came to a better accord and agreement than they could have done had they met in a General Council, consisting only of some few representative bishops.* I am sure by this means St. Cyprian says their decrees were confirmed by all the bishops in the world; and Optatus says, that this catholic communion was maintained all the world over by formed and communicatory letters. It seems they did not think then that one governing head was necessary to catholic communion; and therefore though catholic communion does require the union of neighbour churches into one combined church, it does not require such a union and combination of all the churches in the world.

* *Maxime cum jampridem nobiscum et cum omnibus omnino episcopis in toto mundo constitutis etiam Cornelius Collega noster—decreverit—Cypr. Ep. 68. Pam. [Ep. 67. ut supra, p. 174.] Cum quo nobis totus orbis commercio formatarum in una communionis societate concordat. Opt. l. 2. [p. 32. Lat. Par. 1702.]*

Thus I have particularly answered this author's charge, excepting his vain repetitions of the same cavils, without giving any new force or strength to them; and I think any ordinary reader may see how far I am from setting up the supreme authority, either of Pope or General Council, over the universal Church, and how impossible it is to graft such consequences upon my principles, with any show or pretence of reason.

And now as for his French Popery, let it be what it will, I am unconcerned in it, since I give no supreme authority neither to Pope nor General Council; and therefore neither agree with the Italian, nor Spanish, nor French, nor any Popery, of what denomination soever. But I must add a word or two about Petrus de Marca, because it seems my honesty and credit is very much concerned in ~~this~~ matter; so deeply, that no man ought ever to believe me more; and though I suppose the reader sees what credit he is to give to this author, yet I must speak at least a good word for my own honesty, and to do that, I must give a brief account of the occasion of my alleging the authority of Petrus de Marca.

I was charged by my Dissenting adversaries, with a Cassandrian design, for setting up, as they apprehended, the authority of a General Council. For there is not one word which this author has objected against me, but what was before objected by the Dissenters, and answered in the Vindication. Now, having shewn them their mistake in this charge, that I had asserted nothing which did infer the authority of a General Council as the supreme regent head of the catholic Church, I over and above shewed them how vain this charge of Cassandrian or French Popery was, though I had given such authority to a General Council. For merely to assert the authority of a General Council, does not make any man a Papist of no sort whatsoever, unless he assert the authority of the Pope; for though there be some dispute whose authority is greatest, the Pope's or the Council's, yet no man is a Papist who does not own the Pope to be the supreme and œcumenical pastor; and therefore I having expressly disowned all authority of the Pope or Bishop of Rome, though I had owned the authority of a General Council, I could be no Papist, not so much as a Cassandrian or French Papist. So that this is the thing I was to prove, that there is no Papist but owns the Pope to be the supreme head of the Church, the universal and œcumenical pastor. This I proved Cassander* did; who asserts, "That

* See Vindicat. p. 131, &c.

to the unity of the catholic Church is required obedience to one supreme governor, who succeeds Peter in the government of Christ's Church, and in the office of feeding his sheep ;—and that it is evident from all the records of the Church, that the chief authority of the universal Church has always been yielded to the Bishop of Rome, as Peter's successor, who sits in his chair."* This I proved also of the Councils of Constance and Basil, that though they decreed the Council to be above the Pope, yet they asserted the Pope's supreme pastorship : "That all particular men and particular churches are bound to obey the Pope, unless in such matters as are prejudicial to this holy synod, or any other which is lawfully assembled ;" as the Council of Basil expressly teaches. And this was all I undertook to prove of the French Church, that whatever liberties they pretended, still they owned the Pope to be the supreme pastor and head of the universal Church ; for which I appealed to Petrus de Marca. Let us then consider what is my fault.

Our author gives us an account, that the French Church teaches, as the Council of Basil did, "that though the Pope be greater than particular churches and bishops, yet he is not greater than the whole universal Church ; and that the authority that is granted him in the interval of Councils—doth not in the least suppose him to have any superiority or pre-eminence above the universal Church. Whence it is, that whenever from the ecclesiastical courts in France, any references, suggestions, or consultations, were made to the Pope, if the Pope's rescripts were contrary to the old canons, the French always looked on it as abusive, and made an appeal from the Pope, called *Appellatio ab Abusu*, provoking him to the old canons." Now he says, "Dr. Sherlock is bold enough to deny all, and to bring no less person than the learned Petrus de Marca for his voucher." But where do I deny one word of this, or allege Petrus de Marca's authority to prove it. I had no occasion to deny this ; for all that I was to prove, was, that the French Church did own the Pope to be the supreme head and governor of the Church, and that they did so, I proved from Petrus de Marca. Does not then Petrus de Marca say what I charge him with ? Yes, that he owns : what is my fault then ? Why truly, only that I say "that Petrus de Marca wrote in defence of the liberties of the Gallican Church ;" and is not this the title of his book ? "*De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, seu de Libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ* : Of the Agreement of the Priesthood and the Em-

* Cassand. Consult. de Pontifice Rom. † Agreem. p. 18, &c.

pire, or of the Liberties of the Gallican Church." Yes, this he grants; but the Archbishop was persuaded to add this title by the bookseller, to make it sell the better: and I ought to have known for all this, if I had looked any farther than titles and margins, that he wrote against the liberties of the Gallican Church; and will he say that I ought to have said so too? That had been a great piece of modesty indeed, as great as it is in this author, whoever he be, I am sure very inconsiderable, in comparison of this great man, to charge him with downright knavery.

For my own part I am of that mind still, that the Archbishop, who was as great a man as that age bred, did firmly believe that he had truly stated the liberties of the Gallican Church, though he differed from some, who had stretched those liberties very much,* to the prejudice of the Roman See; which the king himself expressed his sense of, when he imposed that task on him of writing this book; for he charged him to take care that the Gallican liberties might suffer no injury, and that he should let all men see that these liberties did not diminish that reverence which the French have most constantly maintained for the Roman See above all other nations; from whence also we may observe, that the subject he was to write on by the king's command were the Gallican liberties, which was therefore a proper title for his book, though he was unwilling to have given it that title for fear of offending the Court of Rome, as it accordingly happened; and he was to take care so to assert the Gallican liberties as not to detract from that reverence which the French Church, as the king affirms, has always paid to the Roman See. This province he undertook, and discharged to the abundant satisfaction of that king who employed him, who was jealous enough of the Gallican liberties, as far as they were consistent with the reverence of the Apostolic See: but this work was not so well relished at Rome; for as the king rewarded him with a bishopric for it, so the Court of Rome kept him out of it for several years; and one would guess by this usage he

* *Marcæ per Archiepiscopum Burdegalensem Regis nomine imperatur, ut adversus hunc libellum (Optati Galli) scribat, sed ea methodo, ne libertates Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ, quas per latius non occulte petebat Optatus, aliquam paterentur injuriam; quinimo id sedulo ageret, ut omnes intelligerent, libertates illas nihil detrahere de reverentia, quæ debetur Romanæ sedî, quam præ cunctis semper nationibus Galli constantissime retinebant.* Baluz. vit. Petr. de Mar. [p. 10. Francof. 1708.]

met with at Rome, that they had a very jealous eye on these Gallican liberties, even as De Marca had stated them.

But our author observes,* that Baluzius, who wrote De Marca's life, positively affirms, that none among the French, no, nor amongst the Spanish and Italians, did more eloquently, and with greater authority of the ancients, exalt the Roman chair to a greater height than De Marca did. This Baluzius does not say so absolutely as our author reports, but adds a qualification, which he, out of his great exactness in quoting, thought fit to leave out, *viz. qui modo intra limites æqui constiterit*; that no man, "who kept within the bounds of equity and moderation," ever exalted the authority of the Roman Bishop more; which argues that De Marca did not fly so high as some flatterers of the Roman greatness have done, but yet gave him as great power as any could give him; and this I hope he might do without betraying the Gallican liberties. Though as Baluzius observes,† the Romans, whose ears are very tender in such matters, could not bear the title of his book of the Liberties of the Gallican Church, for they suspected that he must be an enemy to the ecclesiastical liberties, who wrote professedly for the liberties of the Gallican Church, which he brands with a *proh nefas!* as a thing ridiculous and absurd.

In the same place Baluzius falls severely upon Faget, who also wrote the life of De Marca, for making him a deserter and betrayer of the Gallican liberties: he gives an account of the Roman arts, to persuade him to condemn some parts of his book, and to insinuate that the mistakes of that book of concord were not owing to his own will and choice, but to the importunate commands and ambition of others; this condition he absolutely refused, though it was proposed by Cardinal Barberini, as the easiest expedient to obtain a despatch of his affairs at Rome. This he was frequently solicited to, and as constantly refused, firmly resolving, while he was in health, rather to renounce all right and claim to his bishopric, than

* Agreement, p. 33.

† Offendit tamen (quis crederet?) hic liber Romana ingenia, nullam aliam ob causam, ut Marca existimabat, quam quod in fronte operis admoneret, hic agi de libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ. Unde Romanis (quorum aures teneritudine quadam plus trahuntur)—promptum fuit sibi persuadere, illum libertati ecclesiasticæ adversari, qui de libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ (*proh nefas!*) agebat ex professo. Baluz. in vit. Petri de Marca, p. 9. [Ibid. p. 11.]

remit any of the privileges of the Gallican Church, till at last, they taking advantage of a great fit of sickness, when his mind might be supposed as weak as his body, he subscribed a paper, wherein he recanted every thing in his book which was contrary to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and immunity, as it was taught by the Church of Rome; an account of which Baluzius gives us in his life, p. 16, 17. From whence it appears, that though De Marca did not so much depress the Pope, nor extend the Gallican liberties, as some French lawyers had done, yet he honestly and sincerely maintained with constancy and resolution (excepting this subscription in his sickness), against all the arts and solicitations of the Church of Rome, what he thought to be the true liberties of the Gallican Church; and this surely was reason enough for me to say (as he himself says in the title of his book, and as the French King and the Court of Rome thought he did), that he wrote for the liberties of the Gallican Church: how our author will defend himself for saying that he wrote against them, with any modesty and reverence for the honesty, learning, and judgment of that great man, he had best consider: I cannot pretend to understand the Gallican liberties so well as to say who is in the right; but I could still prefer the judgment of De Marca, who was both a great lawyer and great divine, before any of his adversaries.

And yet I was not concerned to judge of this matter, whether De Marca or the pragmatics were in the right, where they differ from each other; all that I alleged his authority for, as I observed before, was to prove, that the Gallican liberties did not exclude the authority of the Pope as Christ's vicar and St. Peter's successor in the government of the Church. This is what the Council of Basil itself owns, and to deny it, would be an ecclesiastical liberty with a witness, but not a Popish, but a Protestant liberty. This is my crime, which he says, "ought to be a caution to all readers how they take up any thing upon trust from me;" and though I have done nothing to forfeit my credit, yet I do not desire any readers should trust me, but see with their own eyes; and if they would serve us all so, I know what would become of such writers as this author. And he "wishes it may be a means to engage me to more modesty, and an abatement of my contemptuous way of writing (if I write any more) for the time to come." I perceive he thought this discovery would have broke my heart for ever; but I have ventured to write once

more, and may do so again, and very modestly too, when I meet with modest adversaries. I thank God I condemn no man living, but it is a little in my nature to condemn knavery and nonsense; and therefore if our author tastes a little of it still, I must beg his pardon, for I cannot help it. As for what follows, I have nothing to say to it, it is all a dispute against the Pope's supremacy, which I like very well; only I wonder, if he be in good earnest, why the oath of supremacy should stick in his teeth. I have only one request to him to tell me which was the infallible Council, that of Basil or Trent; for the first subjects the Pope to a Council, the last makes him superior to it; and it were very strange if contradictions should be infallible.

An Answer to the Necessity of Agreement between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, &c.

BEFORE I proceed to answer his second section of the "Agreement between the two Churches about some of their imposed terms of Communion," I shall in a few words rid my hands of that terrible appendix which the prefacer ascribes to another author, to prove "the necessity of an agreement between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, evidenced from the nature and constitution of a national Church episcopally established." Thus first they prove that we are agreed, and then they prove that there is a necessity we should agree: but what need to prove that we must agree, did they believe that we were already agreed? So that this appendix is indeed a confutation of the book which he entitles, *An Agreement between the Church of England and the Church of Rome*: whereas this proves that of necessity we ought to agree, if we will be true to our principles; which supposes that, whatever our principles are, we are not yet agreed. How well he has proved our agreement I have already shewn, and now shall briefly examine how he proves our necessity of agreement.

But I must observe by the way, that though the prefacer does ascribe this learned piece to another author, yet he has concealed the true father: his other author is a good Roman Catholic, who disputes in good earnest from the subordination of pastors in the Church, to prove the supremacy of an occumenic or universal pastor; but the true author was an Independent Protestant from whom this honest Romanist borrows

every argument, and almost every word, excepting such little variations as a Papist must of necessity make in an Independent's writing, without ever confessing his benefactor, or owning from whence he had it. The title of the book is, "The Catholic Hierarchy, or the Divine Right of a sacred dominion in Church and Conscience, truly stated, asserted, and pleaded. Printed for Sam. Crouch, at the Prince's Arms, in Pope's Head Alley, in Cornhill; and Thos. Fox, at the Angel, in Westminster Hall, 1681." In the 14th chapter of which book, p. 76, being a digression concerning the subordination of pastors, whoever has the curiosity, may find this entire treatise, of the Necessity of Agreement between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, only with this difference, that the Independent disputes against the subordination of pastors by this very argument, "that the asserting the subordination of pastors in the Church doth, by all good consequence, infer the supremacy of an œcumenical or universal pastor."

This Popish plagiarist takes his book, and makes a quite contrary use of it, to prove from the subordination of pastors, which is and ought to be in the Church, as the Church of England owns, the necessity of owning an œcumenical pastor; they both indeed dispute against the Church of England, but the first author disputes for Independency, the plagiarist for Popery. Now why might not the Independent, had he not had more wit than his transcriber, have entitled his chapter, the Necessity of Agreement between the Church of England and Independents, because they both agree in rejecting an œcumenical pastor, and therefore ought to agree in rejecting the subordination of pastors, which infers an œcumenical pastor; as well as this author calls it, a Necessity of Agreement between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, because they both agree in the subordination of pastors, and therefore, as he thinks, ought to agree in an œcumenical pastor: nay, he had but served his Independent author right, had he styled it the Necessity of Agreement between the Independents and the Church of Rome, because they both agree in this principle, that if there be a subordination of pastors, there ought to be an œcumenical pastor, which is the nearest Popery of any principle I know; for there is nothing to be done in order to this agreement, but to prove a subordination of pastors, which is a thousand times easier, than to make good that conse-

quence from a subordination of pastors, to an œcumenical pastor.

But let this author make the best he can of his Independent arguments, and call his book what he pleases, my business is only to shew, that there is no necessity for those who acknowledge a subordination of pastors, to acknowledge an œcumenical pastor : and before I consider his reasons in particular, I shall make short work with them, and confute them all together. The query he proposes to discuss, which he has transcribed verbatim from his Independent author, is this :

“ Whether the asserting of the subordination of pastors in the Church, doth not by all good consequence, necessarily infer the supremacy of an œcumenic or universal pastor ? ” * Now my exception against this, and consequently against all his arguments, whereby he proves this, is, that I will allow of no consequences to prove an institution. No man can have the authority of an universal pastor, unless Christ has given it him ; and therefore unless Christ have appointed such an universal pastor, there can be none ; and to prove by consequence, that Christ hath appointed one, when no such institution appears, is ridiculous. Suppose then, there were as much reason for the supremacy of an œcumenical bishop over all the bishops in the world, as there is for the superiority of bishops over presbyters, which is all the subordination of pastors that we allow, of which more presently ; yet at most this can only prove, that there ought to be an œcumenical bishop, and that Christ ought to have appointed one ; but it doth not prove that there is one ; and therefore he who believes the superiority of bishops over presbyters is an apostolical institution, but can find no such institution of an universal bishop, can never be forced by any reason or consequence, to own such an universal bishop. We own the subordination of presbyters to bishops, not from reason, but institution ; and does it then hence follow, that we must own the supremacy of an universal bishop, for some pretended reasons without an institution ? What is matter of institution depends wholly upon the Divine will and pleasure ; and though all men will grant, that God and Christ have always great reason for their institution, yet it is not the reason, but the authority, which makes the institution : though we do not understand the reasons of the

* Agreement, p. 61. The Catholic Hierarchy, p. 77.

institution, if we see the command, we must obey ; and though we could fancy a great many reasons why there should be such an institution, if no such institution appears, we are free, and ought not to believe there is such an institution, because we think there are reasons to be assigned why it should be : and thus in our case, though we should not shew why Christ should institute the apostolical office and power (to which ordinary power bishops succeed) superior to presbyters, and not institute an œcumenical pastor superior to all bishops ; though we should fancy that there is as much reason for the one as there is for the other, yet if there appear to be an institution of the superiority of bishops over presbyters, and no institution of an œcumenical pastor, we may safely own what is instituted, and deny what is not instituted, whatever parity of reason there is between them. And this, I think, plainly shews that the Church of England may own the superiority of bishops over presbyters, and yet deny any such officer as an œcumenical pastor, because there is an institution of one, and not of the other.

But that our author (if we may call a notorious plagiarist so) may not complain, that we will not hear him, I shall briefly examine what he says.

He begins with explaining what is meant by Church, by subordination of pastors, and by an œcumenical pastor.

1. As for the first, he distinguishes between "*a* Church and *the* Church ; *a* Church is any particular Church ; *the* Church belongs to the catholic Church only." Why so ? is not *a* Church, though it be a particular Church, the Church of England, the Church of France, the Church of Spain ? The Church of England* is not the universal Church, no more than the Church of Rome, but it is the Church of England. But what he would make of this, I cannot well guess. He says, " Men are frightened into conformity to the impositions of any particular Church, upon supposition that they are the laws of the Church, *i.e.* the catholic Church, as the people do for the most part believe : " but I perceive he thinks, that our people in England are as silly as they are in some other places : but we tell them, and every body of common sense understands without telling, that when we in England exhort them to obey the laws of the Church, we mean only the laws of the Church of England ; and he ought first to have proved,

* Agreement, p. 62. Hierar. p. 77.

that every national Church has not power to give laws to her own members, before he had represented this, as such a mere scarecrow ; for his distinction between *a* and *the* Church, does not prove that a Church, or every particular national or diocesan Church, if he pleases, has not authority over her own members. This he himself dares not deny, and therefore distinguishes between obeying *a* Church, as *the* Church, and as *a* Church ; but though we do grant a difference between the universal and a particular Church, yet before he had run down the authority of particular Churches, he ought to have proved such a superior authority in the universal Church, to which all particular Churches must be subordinate. But here his author failed him, and therefore he must of necessity fail his readers.

2. "By subordination of pastors he understands the standing of several men in distinct orders, or degrees of office, one above another, or under another in subordinate ranks." This he applies to patriarchates, national, provincial, diocesan, Churches ; the Romanists, he says, never "stop till they arrive at the most catholic visible Church and pastor in the world," *i. e.* an oecumenical pastor : "the Protestant prelates and doctors (who go not Dr. Sherlock's way) do say, that there are no degrees of subordination in the ascending part, above a national Church and pastor." I have already defended my way, which this author, I find, knows nothing of, no more than he does what is the sense of Protestant prelates in this matter : and therefore I must tell him, that though we do own a subordination of presbyters to bishops, yet we own no subordination of one bishop to another, but do assert with St. Cyprian, that all bishops have originally the same authority and power : what the meaning is of metropolitical and national combinations of Churches, and how far we are from setting up a national supreme pastor with a kind of a national infallibility, as he insinuates, I have already shewn at large ; though I think there never was a more senseless suggestion, that no Church can exercise any authority and jurisdiction, nor punish the disobedient, without pretending to infallibility, which would overthrow all government in the world, unless princes, and parents, and masters be infallible too : and the reason he gives of it is as absurd to the full ; that "it is the most unjust and unreasonable thing in the world for me to pretend to force another to believe and practise that which I am not assured to be truth :" as if no man could be certain of any thing

without infallibility. Now all his arguments proceeding upon this mistake, that we own a superiority of one bishop over another, that bishops own obedience and subjection to archbishops and primates, and they to patriarchs; whereas we own no such thing, but teach, that all bishops are equal, as I have already explained it; and that these combinations of bishops into archiepiscopal and national Churches, are not for direct acts of government and superiority over each other, but for mutual advice and counsel: all his arguments from the superior power of archbishops, metropolitans and patriarchs, to prove that there must be an universal pastor, fall with it.

3. "By an œcumenic pastor, he means the universal visible ruling head of the catholic organised Church militant." This is easily understood; the only difficulty is to prove, that the catholic Church is such an organised body, as must have an universal visible ruling head.

And thus I come to his reasons, whereby he proves, that the subordination of pastors in the Church does necessarily infer the supremacy of an œcumenic or universal pastor.

1. His first argument is, that "there is the same politic reason for an universal pastor, that there is for any subordinate pastor, that hath pastors subjected unto him."* Now suppose this were true, we do not find the original right of government, of superiority and subjection between the pastors of the Church, upon any politic reasons, but only upon institution; and therefore, though the politic reasons were the same, if the institution be not the same, that makes an essential difference, and spoils all the arguments from a parity of reason.

The only subordination we allow of, is the subordination of presbyters to their bishops, and that we found on an apostolic institution, and if we will speak in the ancient language, this is not the subordination of one pastor to another: for none were called the pastors of the Church in St. Cyprian's days but bishops, who are the Apostles' successors, to whom Christ entrusted the care of feeding his sheep. For though presbyters are entrusted with the care of the flock, yet they are not complete pastors, because they are under the direction and government of their bishops in the exercise of their ministry, and according to Ignatius's rule, must do nothing without him: but bishops are the supreme governors and pastors of their particular churches, and we allow of no subordination of

* Agreement, p. 65. Hierar. p. 77.

bishops, that is, of pastors, to each other. This our transcriber was sensible of, and therefore here leaves his copy : the Independent author gives his " first instance in a diocesan bishop ruling his parish priests or parochial pastors, the chief end of the said bishop being jurisdiction, determination of ecclesiastical causes, regulation and ordination of his clergy, unity, order, uniformity." Now our Popish transcriber was sensible, that there was not such a subordination between bishops as there is of presbyters to bishops, and therefore he changes "a diocesan bishop" into "a provincial pastor ruling his diocesan bishops," and "regulation and ordination of his clergy" into "regulating abuses, and consecration of bishops." So that he was conscious to himself, that there is not the same politic reason for the subordination of bishops to each other, that there is for the subordination of presbyters to their bishops, which is the only subordination we own, and thus I might dismiss his first argument.

But is there not a subordination of bishops to archbishops allowed and practised in the Church of England, and interwoven with the constitution of it? and if this be thought necessary to the unity and good government of a national Church, is there not greater need for a *principium unitatis et regiminis*, "a principle of unity and government in conjoining many national churches in one patriarchal, or all in one œcumenic, than for uniting provincials in one primateship, or for subjecting diocesans to their respective provincials?" This is the whole force of the argument, which I have sufficiently answered already, but shall briefly consider it again.

1. Then I observe, that whatever superiority or jurisdiction archbishops challenge over bishops, it is but a human institution; for all bishops, with respect to the original institution of episcopacy, are equal: and therefore the superiority of archbishops over bishops cannot prove, that Christ hath appointed a supreme pastor over the whole Church, and all the bishops of it; for Christ has not made an archbishop superior to a bishop, much less a Pope superior to them all. So that at most, if they proceed upon this argument, they must quit all pretence to a divine right, and confess the Pope to be as very a human creature as an archbishop is, and then we know what to say to them.

2. For the being and authority of archbishops, and consequently of such an œcumenical bishop, is not necessary and essential to the unity of the Church, as no human institution

can be. Christ instituted his Church, which is but one Church, without archbishops and metropolitans, and consequently without an œcumenical bishop, and therefore they cannot be necessary to the unity of the Church. For if Christ instituted this one Church in a parity of bishops, it must be one without such a superiority as is only of human institution. The Church cannot be one without the essential principle of unity, and if an œcumenical pastor be this essential principle of unity, then either he must be appointed by Christ, and so his institution does not result from a parity of reason with the archiepiscopal and patriarchal authority, which were not instituted by Christ, and then this argument is lost; or else Christ instituted one Church without the essential principle of unity, which is as great an absurdity as to say, that there can be one Church without a principle of unity.

3. As the archiepiscopal and patriarchal authority is originally of human institution, so it is plain, that before the Church was incorporated into the State, and it may be some time after, it did not give a direct authority and jurisdiction to one bishop over another: for St. Cyprian, who was a primate himself, disowns such an authority as makes them bishops of bishops; and in St. Jerome's time the bishop was the highest order in the Church; and of what place soever they were bishops, they were all equal, which is a contradiction, if one had a direct superiority over another: and therefore such combinations of bishops (as I have often observed) were not essential to the unity of the Church, but were a good prudential means to maintain a strict alliance between neighbour bishops, was very useful for mutual advice and counsel; gave great authority to church discipline, when every particular bishop, though he had the supreme authority in his own church, yet did not act merely upon his own head, but with the consent and advice of the whole province, or patriarchate, which confirmed the authority of every bishop, when those, who were duly censured by their bishop, saw it in vain to complain to other bishops, who all observed the same rules of discipline: and an archbishop or primate was very necessary in such combinations, not for unity and government, but for order, as it is in all other bodies and societies of men: at least not for any acts of government over their fellow bishops, but such as did belong in common to them all, as ordaining bishops for vacant sees, or composing such differences as the single authority of the bishop could not compose in his own diocese.

4. I readily grant, that since the Church is incorporated into the State, archbishops and metropolitans have a greater and more direct authority over their colleagues, as far as the canons of the Church confirmed by the supreme national authority extend : but whatever is more than I have now explained, is not a pure ecclesiastical authority, but a mixed authority derived from the civil powers, and this may be greater or less as the civil powers please. All compulsory jurisdiction must be derived from the civil powers, because the Church has none of her own, and when the Church is incorporated into the State, as it is very fitting that the ecclesiastical authority should be enforced by the civil authority, so those who have the exercise of this ecclesiastical authority, seem the fittest persons to be entrusted with such a civil jurisdiction, as is thought convenient to give force to it : which is the true original of that mixed authority, which the bishops and archbishops now exercise by the canons of the Church, and the laws of the land.

But though this justifies the archiepiscopal or metropolitan authority over a national church, yet it is a demonstration, that there can be no such œcumenical pastor, as there is a national archbishop, unless we could find an universal monarch too, as well as a King of England, or France, or Spain ; for otherwise, whence should this universal pastor derive his œcumenic authority, unless there be an universal prince ? Merely considered as a bishop, he has no superiority or jurisdiction over any of his colleagues or fellow bishops ; and he can never have such a jurisdiction over the universal Church, as a metropolitan has over a national church, unless there be an universal king to give this universal authority to him, as there is the King of England, of France, or Spain, to give such a national authority to their patriarchs and primates : whereas the Pope of Rome is so far from deriving his authority from secular princes, that he challenges a superior authority over them and their subjects in their own dominions : which shews how senseless it is to infer the authority of an universal bishop or pastor from the authority of a national primate, because they cannot derive their authority the same way, there being no universal monarch to give him such authority ; and the Bishop of Rome, who alone challenges this universal pastorship, is so far from owning such a title to it, that he assumes an authority over sovereign princes. And therefore though it may be pardonable in an Independent to use such an argument for the Pope's authority, I know not how our Popish plagiary will

come off with it ; for it effectually overthrows all pretences to a Papal supremacy, to derive it from no higher principle than what gives being to a national primacy, which is not the institution of Christ, but the authority of sovereign princes and civil powers ; which the Pope cannot have, and if he could, would think scorn to receive his power from them : for that would spoil his claim as Christ's vicar, and St. Peter's successor ; and they who give can take away too.

5. But setting aside all this, there is not a parity of reason for an œcumenic pastor and a national primate ; neither of them are necessary to the unity of the Church, which is preserved by the concord and agreement of bishops, not by such a governing authority and superior power of one bishop over another : as for advice and counsel, such a national combination of bishops under a metropolitan may be of great use, because all bishops in a nation may without any inconvenience meet together ; but there is not the same reason for an universal bishop, because all the bishops in the world cannot meet together in council with him, as I have already discoursed. And as for some peculiar acts of authority and jurisdiction, especially where there is a mixture of the ecclesiastical and civil authority ; this may be very prudently entrusted with a national primate : but it is both an intolerable grievance, which has been complained of by Roman Catholic princes and people, that appeals should lie to Rome, and the bishops and people of all nations in the world be forced to have their causes heard there ; and it is a derogation from the authority of sovereign princes, to have a foreign bishop exercise a superior jurisdiction in their own kingdoms. This I think is sufficient, if men be reasonable, to answer his first politic reason for an universal pastor.

2. His next argument* is very comical ; the whole of which he has borrowed also from his Independent author, though sometimes he ventures upon new phrases, and new illustrations, which makes it more comical still : " He proves, that they that maintain the government of the Church by bishops, archbishops, primates, &c. must also own and acknowledge an universal visible pastor, from the nature of an universal visible Church." This may be true for ought I know ; for who can tell but his &c. which is all he has added to the original, may include an universal pastor ? But his argument is fallaciously put (which I confess is none of his fault, but his author's, whom he has honestly copied) ; it should have been thus, "those

* Agreement, p. 68. Cath. Hierar. p. 79.

who assert the government of the Church by bishops, archbishops, primates (though he should have left out bishops, as he did in his former argument, because their authority is of a distinct consideration from archbishops and primates), from the nature of an universal visible Church, must also own an universal visible pastor from the nature of an universal visible Church ;” for if we do not derive the authority of archbishops and primates from the nature and essential constitutions of the catholic Church, as it is evident we do not ; how can the nature of the universal visible Church force us to own an universal pastor, when it does not force us to own a national primate ? If there be such a connexion between them, that the consequence holds from one to the other, we must own them both for the same reason ; for there is no proportion nor no consequence between things which have different natures and causes.

But let us hear how he proves this. This Church, he says, “ must be an organized, or unorganized body, made up of *partes similes* only.” Right ! the universal Church is unorganized as to the whole, though made up of organized parts. But this we must not say, for then we spoil his argument ; and yet he knows that every one who denies an universal pastor set over the whole Church, must, and does say it. So that the sum of his argument is this : if you will allow the whole Church to be an organized body, that is, to be under the government of an universal pastor, then you must own an universal pastor ; but if you will not own this, he has nothing to say to you ; but that you ought in civility to own it, to make good his argument. If men will be so perverse as to own particular national Churches to be organized bodies, and to deny the universal Church to be thus organized (as we all do), then they may own a national primate, and deny an oecumenical pastor ; and if men own the universal Church to be such an organized body, they must own an universal pastor, whether they own archbishops and primates or not ; and therefore archbishops and primates might have been left out of this argument, because they signify nothing in it ; and, consequently, the whole argument is nothing to his design, to prove that those who own archbishops and primates, must own an universal pastor.

Well, but he undertakes for us, that we will not grant, that the universal Church is an “ unorganized body, because it lays a necessary foundation for particular co-ordinate churches, Congregational or Presbyterian :” if he had said Episcopal, he had said right, and we know no inconvenience in this to say, that

all Episcopal Churches are co-ordinate, since all bishops by an original right are equal. But "besides, if the catholic Church be considered in its largest acceptation and extent, comprehending the militant and triumphant parts, the Scripture tells us, it is an organized body, being called a body of which the Lord Jesus Christ is the living Head." This is purely his own, for his author had more wit than to say it. The whole Church militant and triumphant, or the Church in earth and heaven, is but one Church, and this one Church is united to Christ, the Head of the Church; and this proves, that the Church on earth cannot have any other head, as the principle of unity, but only Christ: for the head of the Church must be the head of the whole Church, as the head is the head of the whole body: and therefore the Church on earth, being part of the Church, not the whole (for the Church in heaven is the largest and best part of the body), it cannot have a visible head on earth, because such a head cannot be the head of the whole body; for those who say the Bishop of Rome is the head of the visible militant Church on earth, yet never pretended that he is the head of the invisible triumphant Church in heaven. Now the Church on earth can never have a head, which is not the head of the Church in heaven, unless we will say, that part of a body, as the Church on earth is, may have a head by itself, which is not head to the other part of the body, which is a thing that never was heard of in the world before, that a head should be head only to part of the body, and not to the whole, when the body is but one.

But what does he mean when he says, that the Church militant and triumphant is an organized body? What organization is there in the Church triumphant? They are all indeed united to Christ, and so are his body, but there are no different organical parts in this body, no differing ranks and offices, that we know of, in the Church in heaven, no distinction between clergy and laity, prophets and apostles, pastors and teachers there, for these offices cease with the use of them, and therefore they are not united to Christ in one organical body, which has different members and offices in heaven; and therefore, though the Church on earth consists of such organized bodies, yet it is not their organization which unites them to Christ, for then this would be necessary in heaven as well as in earth, for the same one body, and every part of it, must be united to Christ in the same manner, and by the same kind of union; and if the union of the Church on earth does not con-

sist in its organization, to be sure there is no necessity that the whole Church on earth should be one organized body, to make it the body of Christ. The organization of particular Churches is for the edification and good government of all the members of it, not immediately for their union to Christ; and therefore, if the whole Church may be edified and well governed by the organization of particular Churches, the Church being called the body of Christ, cannot prove, that the whole Church on earth is one organical body.

But, if particular Churches be organized, "it is most natural and fit, that the mother-teeming Church should have the most proportionate adaptation of parts. A mother that brings forth organized children, is supposed to be organized herself. *Nihil dat quod non habet*. Wherefore all other less comprehensive Churches, coming out of the womb of Mother Church, and proved to be organized bodies, it is naturally necessary that she herself should be homogeneous, or of the same kind, otherwise the mother must be more monstrous than the daughters." Here he forsakes his guide again, and falls into nonsense. Could he find out a Mother Church, which is none of the daughters, a catholic Church, which is distinct from all particulars, this would be a notable argument indeed, to prove the catholic Church to be organized, because particular Churches are; but if there be no teeming Mother Church, but what is a particular Church itself, if no Church brings forth Churches, as a woman brings forth her daughters; nay, if Churches are not brought forth, but Christians who are afterwards formed into church societies; if all this at best be nothing but metaphor and allusion, and that without any real likeness and similitude too, we may safely allow him such kind of arguments as these, for his organized catholic Church.

Well, but now these particular Churches are transformed from "daughters into integral parts of the Mother Catholic Church," nay, are daughters and integral parts too, which constitute the mother; and then "a body which is made up of organized parts, is always itself organized, *e. g.* in all animals, in a man the head, hand, legs, &c. are each organized for the completing the totality of that part; and therefore are becoming organs to the whole man, and hence the man is an organized body." Now, indeed, if the whole Church were such a body as the natural body of a man is, and did consist of particular Churches, which did as much differ in their nature and use and organization, as the head, and hand, and legs do

in the natural body, this were a very notable argument to prove the whole Church to be an organized body, consisting of particular Churches, as of integral parts; but now the Apostle makes every particular Church to be such an organized body, consisting of all the integral parts of a Church, a bishop, presbyters, deacons, and faithful people; and therefore particular Churches are not properly organized parts of the catholic Church, as the hands or legs are of a human body, which is made up of several other members of a different nature, but as organized wholes, every particular Church being a complete and entire Church, not a part of a Church; and the catholic Church is considered as one, not so much by uniting all particular Churches, considered as particular Churches, which is to unite a great many wholes together, to make one whole, which is perfectly unintelligible; but by uniting the several parts, of which each particular Church consists, into one, they being the same in all; and this makes one organized catholic Church, of the same nature and constitution, the same officers and members, with every particular organized Church. As for instance, a particular organized Church, as I have now observed, consists of a bishop, presbyters, deacons, and faithful people, and the whole catholic Church consists of the same parts, and can have no other; and yet there are no bishops, presbyters, deacons, Christian people to make up this catholic Church, but what belong to some particular Churches, and yet particular Churches are not parts of a Church, but complete entire Churches, as having all integral parts of a perfect Church, and therefore particular organized Churches cannot make up a whole Church, as the several parts make a whole body, because they are each of them a whole: where then shall we find bishops, presbyters, deacons, people, to make up one catholic Church? Now, in this case, there can be no other notion of the catholic Church, but the union of the same parts of all particular Churches into one, and then the union of all these united parts into one body, makes the one catholic Church. As to explain this briefly.

St. Cyprian tells us, that there is but one episcopacy, or one bishopric, as I have already shewn; and therefore all the bishops who are now dispersed over all the world, and have the supreme government of their particular churches, must be reckoned but one bishop; for though their natural persons are distinct, they are but one ecclesiastical person, their office, power, and dignity being one and the same, not divided into

parts, but exercised by all of them in their several churches, with the same fulness and plenitude of power; and thus we have found out one bishop for one catholic Church, all the bishops in the world being but one; for though they are many distinct persons, they are but one power, and exercise the same office, without division or multiplication. And thus all the presbyters in the world, who are under the direction and government of their several bishops, are but one presbytery of the catholic Church; for if the episcopacy be but one, the presbytery must be but one also, in subordination to this one episcopacy; the like may be said of deacons, and of Christian people, that they are but one body and communion under one bishop. Where there is but one bishop, there can be but one Church, and therefore one episcopacy unites all Christians into one body and communion: how this is consistent with the many schisms and divisions of the Christian Church, shall be accounted for elsewhere. This is a plain intelligible account, how all the particular churches in the world are but one Church, because all the parts and members, which answer to each other in these particular churches, are but one by the institution of Christ; all their bishops but one bishop, all their presbyters but one presbytery, all the Christians of particular Churches but one body and communion; and thus the catholic Church is an organized body, consisting of the same parts that all particular Churches consist of: just as if five thousand men, whose bodies have all the same members, should, by a coalition of corresponding parts, grow up into one body; that all their heads, their arms, their legs, &c. should grow into one, which would make a kind of universal organized body, of the same nature with what every single individual man has.

And that there can be no other notion of the catholic Church, as considered in this world, I think it is very plain from this, that there is but one notion of a Church; and therefore the catholic Church and particular Churches must have the very same nature and integral parts. If a bishop, presbyters, and Christian people make a particular Church, there must be the very same parts in the catholic Church, or you must shew us two distinct notions of a Church, and that the catholic and particular Churches differ in their essential constitution: if the notion be the same, and all particular Churches constitute the catholic Church, then these particular Churches must constitute the catholic Church, just as they

are constituted themselves, that is, of bishops, presbyters, and people; and therefore all the bishops of particular Churches must make but one catholic episcopacy, all the presbyters but one presbytery, all the Christian people but one body and communion; and then the catholic Church and particular Churches are exactly the same, one body of bishops, presbyters, and people.

And this utterly destroys all subordination between bishops; for if to the notion of the catholic Church, all bishops must be considered as one, then every bishop must be equal; for an inferior and superior bishop cannot be one: and if the notion of the catholic Church did require one supreme œcumenical pastor, to whom all particular bishops are subordinate, then the catholic and particular Churches are not of the same species, for the one has a sovereign, the other a subordinate head, and therefore is not a complete and perfect Church, nor of the same kind with the Church which has the sovereign head.

And thus I think, I might safely dismiss all our author's criticisms, about the several kinds of *totums*, which he has transcribed from the Independent copy, excepting some peculiar absurdities of his own: for the catholic Church, properly speaking, is no *totum* at all, with respect to particular churches, which are not properly parts of the catholic Church, considered as particular organized churches, but the catholic Church is one Church, by the union of all the corresponding parts of particular churches, which we have no example of, that I know, in nature, nor is it to be expected to find the exemplars of such mystical unions in nature, which depend not upon nature, but upon institution; but it may not be amiss briefly to shew our author's great skill in such matters.

He takes it for granted, that the Church catholic must be some kind of *totum*, or whole, and therefore undertakes to prove that in all *totums* there must be a subordination of parts, and therefore there must be a supreme œcumenical pastor in the catholic Church. Now he says, "*Totum* is most legally (I suppose it should be logically) divided into *quatenus integrum*, and *quatenus genus*;" such a whole as a body is, which has all its parts, or such a whole as a genus is to a species; and one of these he thinks the catholic Church must be: but then his author minded him, that there was an aggregate whole, such a whole as a heap of corn is; but he

told him also, that this was but a kind of integrum; though if this integrum signifies such a whole as his integrating parts, the union of which makes the whole, such an aggregate as has neither any parts nor any union, is a pretty kind of integrum; but reduction may do great things, and therefore I wont dispute that: but since he has named this aggregate whole, if any man should be so perverse as to say that the catholic Church is such an aggregate body, consisting of all particular co-ordinate churches; what would become of his subordination of pastors? for what subordination is there in aggregate bodies, in those grains, suppose, which make up a heap of corn, which are all alike? The Independent author foresaw this objection, but meddles not with it, like a wise man who would not conjure up a devil which he could not lay; but this transcriber is bold and brave, and sometimes ventures out of his depth without his bladders, and then he is usually ducked for it. He tells us, p. 70, that an aggregate whole has integral parts; which I believe is a new notion; for I thought it had been a collection of incoherent things, which had no union or relation to each other, as parts have to the whole: but how much he understands of this matter, appears from the example he gives, for he takes an army to be such an aggregate whole; if he had said a rout or a rabble had been such an aggregate, he had come nearer the business; but I fear the king's guards will not take it well to be thought a mere aggregate body: but he could find no other aggregate wherein there is a subordination of parts, and therefore an army must pass for such an aggregate.

But let us consider his *totum integrum*, which is a natural or political whole, such as the body of man, or a community is, which is made up of several parts, which are integral and essential to its composition. Now according to the right notion of subordination, the whole is divided into the next, but greater parts, and they into the next lesser, and they into lesser, or least of all. Well, then, let us apply this to the body of man, which are the greater and lesser parts, and least of all into which it must be divided: which are the superior and which are the subordinate parts in a human body? There are some indeed which are higher, and others lower in the situation of the body; some more noble and more useful than others; but there is no subordination between them, that I know of, but the soul governs them all, and they have the same care one of another. Indeed subordination relates only

to governed societies, which may be divided, as he speaks, into greater or less, superior or subordinate parts; which is another kind of *integrum*, such as we call a community. But suppose this be what he means by his *integrum*, not a natural, but a political whole; how does he prove that in every such *integrum* there must be a subordination of parts, as at last centres in one supreme governor? For what does he think of democracies, or aristocracies? Who is the supreme where all are equal? And should any man say, that all the bishops of the catholic Church are equal, without any supreme head over them, as democratical or aristocratical princes are, how would he be able to confute him from his notion of *integrum*? And therefore the mere notion of an *integrum* will not prove such a subordination of parts, as centre in one supreme head; but he must prove that the constitution of the Christian Church is such as is under the government of one supreme visible head.

His next *totum* is *genericum*: his author has confessed that this does not belong to the Church; and he confesses it after him in the very same words: "This notion I will not further prosecute, because, according to the best logical and theological rules, the application of a genus doth not so well suit the nature of the catholic Church, it being more properly an *integrum* than a genus." And yet he would not lose this opportunity neither, to let us see his great skill in logic; but since they both confess it is nothing to the purpose, I shall not trouble my readers with it.

3. He argues "from the nature of subordination itself, of any kind, which always supposes a *supremum et infimum*.— And if there be in the Church a subordination of pastors, as our Protestant prelates assert, then there must be a supreme as well as a lowest term, *viz.* a Catholic pastor for the highest range or round of the ladder, and a parish priest, or (as our bishops would have it of late) a diocesan for the lowest, the continuation being always to a *ne plus ultra* at both ends of the line."* Which, for ought I see, does as well prove an universal monarch, as an universal pastor. For he tells us, this holds in any kind of subordination. We do grant indeed, that there is a subordination in the Church, *i. e.* that presbyters are subordinate to bishops; but we say with all antiquity, that a bishop, even a diocesan bishop, is not the lowest, but

* Agreement, p. 61. Cath. Hierar. p. 80, 81.

the highest term ; for a bishop is the highest order in the Church, and all bishops are of equal power, and this without any danger of independency, as I have already shewn.

4. His next argument is "from the derivation and original of the pastoral office and power." The sum of which, in short, is this ; that every pastor must receive his pastoral power from some superior pastor, that as presbyters are ordained by bishops, so bishops by their metropolitans, they by their primate, and they by their œcumenical bishop, from whom they receive the pastoral staff. But he forgot all this while, from whom this œcumenical bishop must receive his orders ; and whether those who ordain the Pope are his superiors. Such talk as this might become the Independent well enough, from whom he transcribes it, but is pretty cant for a Romanist ; for whoever has authority to confer orders, may certainly confer them, whether he be a superior or equal, and therefore he ought to have proved, that none but a superior can have authority to confer orders ; and then he must find a superior to the Pope, to give him his œcumenical power. The Catholic Church has always owned the power of order to be in bishops, who are the highest order of the Church, and have a plenitude of ecclesiastical power, which is the reason why presbyters cannot ordain without their bishop, because they are not complete pastors, but act in subordination to, and dependence on their bishops, and therefore have not such a fulness of power in themselves, as to communicate it to others.

5. In the next place, "he argues from the chief ends of subordination of pastors in the Church, *viz.* that there may be place for appeals in matters of controversy, in cases of mal-administration by the subordinate clergy, final determinations of difficult ecclesiastical causes, correction of heresy and schism, as also establishment of ceremonies."* Schism and ceremonies belong to the next head of arguments, where his author placed them, but this transcriber has not judgment enough to write after his copy, but will sometimes venture to alter, though without sense. But there are as many choice passages in his pursuit of this argument, as one could wish, which would make one suspect, that the Independent author himself was a well-wisher of Popery, he disputes so heartily for a last supreme judge to receive appeals, and for the infallibility of such a judge : but there is nothing more re-

* Agreement, p. 74. Hierar. p. 83.

quired to answer this argument, but to give a plain state of this case of appeals. We must distinguish then between ecclesiastical causes, and consider the original right of appeals.

As for ecclesiastical causes, nothing is a pure ecclesiastical cause, but what concerns the communion of the Church, who shall be received into communion, or cast out of it, or put under some less censures, which confines this either to faith or manners: but as for other causes, which are called ecclesiastical because they concern ecclesiastical things or persons, such as the repairs of churches, advowance of livings, tithes, glebe, oblations, &c. they are rather of a civil than ecclesiastical cognizance, though bishops and ecclesiastical persons are entrusted by the civil powers with the determination of them; and in such matters as these, it is fit there should lie appeals, as there do in all other civil matters; but then it is fit also, that these appeals should be bounded, as all other civil appeals are, within the kingdom or territory where the cause arises; for to carry such appeals out of the kingdom, is as great an injury to the authority of the prince, as to the liberties of the subject. A sovereign prince has all civil power and jurisdiction, and to suffer appeals to foreign bishops or princes, is to own a superior in his own dominions; and therefore in such matters as these, no appeals can lie to an œcumenic bishop.

As for causes purely ecclesiastical, the bishop being supreme in his own diocese, there can be no original right of appeal from him, for there is no appeal from the supreme: he has a free power in the government of his own diocese, and must render an account of his actions to Christ, who is the supreme Lord of the Church, as St. Cyprian tells us. But as, notwithstanding this, it is very expedient, and in some degree necessary, that neighbour bishops should unite into an ecclesiastical body for the maintenance of catholic communion, and the exercise of discipline, as I have already shewn; so the very nature of such combinations admits and requires appeals, that if any presbyter or private Christian be too severely censured by his bishop, or without just cause, he may find relief from the synod or primate, or in whomsoever the power of receiving appeals is placed: for bishops are men, and liable to human passions and frailties, and it would be impossible to maintain the authority of church censures without such appeals. For though there be no original right of appeals from the sentence of one bishop to another: yet every bishop has authority to receive

whom he judges fit into the communion of his own church; and should one bishop depose a presbyter, or excommunicate a lay Christian unjustly, should they go into another diocese, if the bishop of it judged them worthy of communion, he might receive them into communion notwithstanding these censures; for he is judge in his own church, as the other was in his. But how contemptible would ecclesiastical censures be, if they reached no farther than single dioceses; and what dissensions would this create among bishops, should one receive those into communion, whom the other had cast out? Which makes it highly expedient, that neighbour bishops should be made, not the judges of their fellow bishops, or their actions, as it is in superior courts, which have a direct authority over the inferior, but umpires and arbitrators of such differences as may happen between the bishop and his clergy, or people; which will preserve the peace and concord of bishops, and give a more sacred authority to ecclesiastical censures; for by the same reason that these ecclesiastical bodies and communions must be confined within such limits as admit of such combinations, of which I have given an account above, these appeals also must be confined to the ecclesiastical bodies, as St. Cyprian* expressly affirms, that the cause should be heard there where the crime was committed.

Thus we see there is no need of an oecumenical pastor to receive appeals, much less of an infallible judge for this purpose; and thus I might dismiss this argument, were it possible to pass it over without observing some peculiar strains of reason and rhetoric in it. As, for example: "That appeals are to no end, if there be not some supreme catholic pastor to arrive at, in whose determination we are bound to sit down and rest satisfied." As if there could be no last appeal but to a catholic pastor, or no one man were bound to rest satisfied in any other last appeal. But I perceive the satisfaction he means, is the satisfaction of having our cause determined by an infallible judge, who cannot err: which it may be, is the first time a Roman Catholic (for I must except his Independent original) ever made the Pope an infallible judge, not only in matters of faith, but of all causes which are brought before him by appeals.

But why may not the last appeal be made to any one else, as well as to the catholic pastor? No: "The mind of the

* Cyr. Ep. 55. ad Cornelium. [Ep. 59. p. 136. Oxon. 1682.]

whole catholic Church may be had in the *principium unitatis* ; but no other national, provincial, or diocesan pastor have the mind of the whole catholic Church :” which I can make nothing more of, but that the mind of the catholic pastor is the mind of the catholic Church ; and therefore the catholic pastor, if he speaks his own mind, speaks the mind of the catholic Church too. He is “ the head, and if we will know a man’s mind, we must resort to the head, not to the arms or legs, where you can only expect a dumb kick or box under the ear, as we have had enough of from our Protestant prelates.— A diocesan, provincial, or primate, are but the Church’s more surly and less intelligible organs ;” (but arms or legs, which give dumb kicks or boxes on the ear) : but if you will understand the sense of the Church, you must resort to the body speaking in the head, not to the kicking heels. This is all demonstration, besides the advantages of apt figures, and the elegancies of expression to set it off.

Well, the last appeals then must lie to the catholic pastor, because he knows the mind of the whole Church, and is its speaking head ; whereas metropolitans and primates are but dumb, surly, less intelligible organs, whose mind you can only understand by “ kicks or boxes under the ear ;” which yet I think is a very intelligible way, though I believe few people love to understand that way : for this reason then we must go to the head, that we may understand the mind of the whole Church, for then we cannot err. But is this head infallible ? Yes, most certainly ! “ For the pretensions made by the catholic pastor to infallibility, are founded on the principles of the episcopal constitution. For an Episcopal Church (settled by subordination of pastors within itself) without a catholic head, is an animal without a head :” which is a pretty strange sort of creature. “ In all our appeals from pastor to pastor, from Church to Church, in any causes or controversies, if we do not still come to a less fallible Church, and at last arrive at the most infallible, comprehensive of ourselves as members, *cui bono hic labor, et hoc opus ?*” that is, to what purpose do we appeal from one fallible Church to another, unless we can at last lodge our final appeal in an infallible Church ? So that the reason why we must appeal to the catholic pastor is, that our cause may be determined by an infallible judge, who has the mind of the whole Church : and the proof of the infallibility of this catholic pastor is, that to him must be made the last appeals, which were to no purpose, if he were not the most in-

fallible. Thus infallibility proves the necessity of appeals, and appeals prove the necessity of infallibility; for one good turn requires another.

But still methinks there is a little difficulty, why there should be any appeals at all to a fallible judge? Why should not all causes in the first instance be brought before the infallible judge? Why must we take such a round by bishops, provincials, metropolitans, primates, before we come to the catholic pastor; when there can be no satisfaction till we come to the infallible judge, and have the mind of the whole Church from him? And as our author observes, *cui bono*, do men appeal from one fallible creature to another? If the right of appeals be grounded on infallibility, why must we appeal to those who are fallible?

To solve this, which is a real difficulty, our author would insinuate (for he is afraid downright to own such an absurdity), that "there are degrees of infallibility, which if admitted, we must arise to the highest;" but why not go to the highest at first, but rise by degrees? "If it be granted that a bishop is less fallible than a parish priest, and an archbishop less fallible than a bishop, and a primate than he, upon the same ground we may expect the catholic pastor to be less fallible than all the rest." But what a lamentable ground is this for infallibility! and what a lamentable infallibility is that, which is only being less fallible than some other fallible creatures?

But the pleasantest conceit is, that men's infallibility increases with their several orders and degrees in the Church, that a bishop is less fallible, and therefore more infallible than a priest, and an archbishop than a bishop, &c. Now I suppose he will grant, that infallibility does not result from men's personal abilities, but is a supernatural gift, and that Christ never gives anything less, in such a supernatural way, than absolute infallibility: and therefore, whatever infallibility men can challenge, by virtue of a promise, must be absolute, and absolute infallibility has no degrees. If then the infallibility of the catholic pastor be founded on a divine promise, it has no relation at all to the several degrees of fallibility in other Church officers; unless he can shew, where Christ hath promised several degrees of infallibility to the several orders and degrees of ecclesiastical ministers, and then indeed we may conclude that he has bestowed the most perfect infallibility upon the catholic pastor, if it be first proved, that he has instituted such a catholic pastor. But it is evident, that to be more or

less fallible, depends upon men's personal abilities, learning, wisdom, honesty, and therefore it is a ridiculous thing to say that every bishop must be less fallible than a presbyter, and an archbishop less fallible than a bishop, and a primate than he, unless you can prove that all bishops must be wiser, honester, and more learned men, than presbyters, and archbishops than bishops, and popes than archbishops and primates: which I believe is a pretty hard task, and yet our wise author at last resolves the Pope's infallibility into this belief, "for it is not to be supposed that the catholic Church would commit the greatest charge to a person of the least judgment and understanding." So that it seems infallibility at last is dwindled away into men's personal judgment and understanding; and though it may be the catholic Church might be careful in such a choice, yet we can easily suppose that cardinals, who may not be men of the best judgment themselves, and may be divided by interests and factions, or bribed with money, or overawed by power, or influenced by friendships, may not always choose the wisest man in the world; and if they did, yet he could be no more infallible this way, than the wisest man in the world is, who after all is a fallible creature, as all men are: and I dare appeal to all sober and considering Roman Catholics, whether our author has not utterly overthrown the infallibility of the Pope, and all appeals to him, by what he adds: "To what purpose is it for us to betake ourselves for further light to those whom the Church has entrusted with higher power and larger trust, if we have no reason to judge them, not only to be holier, wiser, and juster men, than those we appeal from, but less fallible in judgment, and errable in practice?" For I am confident few Roman Catholics think their Popes to be the wisest and best men in the world, and therefore if their inerrability depends upon their wisdom and honesty, they cannot think them infallible neither, and I suspect our author has no great claim to infallibility himself, who at this time of day, when the stories of Popes are so well known, should found infallibility upon the wisdom, holiness, and justice of Popes.

By this one would guess, that he makes no great matter of the Pope's infallibility, that he has found out such a fallible foundation for it. He says, "that the œcumenic pastor in his human capacity may mistake and err, and so did St. Peter, but not fundamentally, yet as supreme head in his catholic capacity (*quatenus in cathedra catholica, et comparative*) to

all inferior subordinate pastors, he hath a kind of infallibility, which is a power entrusted in him by the catholic Church, to pass a final judgment of determination in all causes and controversies, to be a *ne plus ultra* to all appeals and litigations in the Church." So that in the first place he is not infallible in his human capacity, and yet he founds his infallibility on his wisdom, holiness, and justice, which are human and personal perfections. In his public capacity he would have him infallible in the chair, but yet it is but a comparative infallibility, which is none at all. Then his infallibility is not an infallibility in judging, but a power to make a final determination, whether it be right or wrong, and any man might have this power, as well as the Pope; especially since he is not entrusted with this power by Christ, but by the catholic Church, that is too, only by the Church of Rome, for no other Church entrusts him with it; and thus he quits all divine claims to infallibility, and the Pope is no more infallible than the Church can make him, by entrusting him with a final decision of controversies at all adventures. And therefore he adds, "We are not bound to believe his judgment is infallibly true, but are to subscribe to it, as the last, because we can have no further and higher appeal on earth." That is, we must subscribe to it, whether we believe it true or not, which is an admirable sort of infallibility. Thus he says, "the English clergy subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, not that they believe them (as they commonly say) to be true and orthodox, but because they be the last resolutions of the Church of England in those points, they sit down satisfied to subscribe them as *instrumenta pacis et unitatis*, but indeed *maximi emolumenti*," by which what he means I cannot guess, but am very much of his mind, "that upon the same ground (were there no other reason of subscriptions) they may subscribe to the Council of Trent." But this is a scandal on the clergy of the Church of England; we subscribe to the truth of the doctrines, and for my part, I would not subscribe did I not think them true; and this is false with reference to the Church of Rome, which anathematizes all persons who do not own, and acknowledge, and believe all the articles of the Council of Trent. However, infallibility is at a low ebb in the Church of Rome, when they can exact submissions and subscriptions only upon Protestant principles, who pretend to no infallibility at all. I have examined this argument a little more at large, to make him sensible how dangerous a thing it is to write after an Independent

copy: for had any man intended to have burlesqued infallibility (as possibly his author from whom he transcribes did), he could not have done it more effectually than by such principles as these.

6. His sixth argument (in Catholic Hierarchy, the seventh, for he has dropped one from the nature of the Church, which he made an introduction of, and there it has been considered) is, "that this catholic headship is inseparable from an ecclesiastical body, made up of subordinate pastors and churches, may be abundantly evidenced from these following enumerated Church necessities.*

"The necessity, 1. Of a catholic judgment of schism. 2. Of a catholic interpretation of Scripture. 3. Of a catholic determination of ceremonies for order and decency. 4. For a catholic composure of forms of prayer. 5. For a catholic canonization of saints. 6. A catholic call and convention of Councils œcumenic." Which are word for word the argument of the Independent author. I shall briefly consider them all.

1. "The necessity of a catholic judgment of schism," *i. e.* that there should be some judges who are schismatics, for otherwise, 1. "Patriarchal or national churches may be schismatical, and no competent remedy found for the said schism. 2. There can be no determination of a schism from the catholic Church, nor any proportionate punishment of it;" for a patriarch or national primate cannot be judicially proceeded against but by an œcumenic pastor; which I think is the same with the first. For a national schism must be a schism from the catholic Church or none; since national churches among us depend on no foreign patriarchs. 3. Because "superior churches are to judge the inferior; no particular church has an absolute definitive power in itself, but there lies an appeal against it to the catholic Church and pastor." Which, instead of proving that there is such a catholic pastor, supposes that there is one; for else there can lie no appeal to him. 4. "That particular churches will never agree about schism, but the very disputes about schism will make schisms without end." Now, suppose a man should turn the tables, and prove by this argument that there is no catholic pastor, nor catholic judge of schism; because there are, and always have been, schisms in the Christian Church, which it is impossible there should be, did the Church know of such a catholic judge. For how could

* Agreement, p. 77, &c. Cath. Hier. p. 85, &c.

there be any such dispute about schism if there were such a judge? If you say, that it is the not owning such a judge which makes the schisms; that may be true; but it is true also, that it is a sign the Christian world does not know of any such judge; for if they did, they would own him, and put an end to their schisms. If it be necessary there should be such a catholic judge of schism, I am sure it is necessary he should be known, or else, as experience testifies, the disputes about such a judge will make more schisms than such an unknown and disputable judge can ever end.

Now since there either is no such catholic judge of schism, or he is not sufficiently known to all Christians, methinks it proves that there is no need of such a catholic judge of schism; for there is as much need he should be known, in order to put an end to schisms, as that there should be such a judge; and if the necessity of ending schisms proves that there should be such a judge, I am sure the continuance of schisms proves as plainly that he is not known because he cannot end them. It is ridiculous to imagine that there should be any such thing as schism, were there a known oecumenical pastor and judge; and it is as ridiculous to prove that there is such a judge, from the necessity of such a judge to end schisms, when it is demonstrable from the continuance of these schisms that the Christian world knows of no such judge. And it is very strange, that Christ should appoint such a judge, and not take care that he should be known. Good arguments must convince schismatics in this world, and Christ will judge them in the next; and I know of no other catholic judgment of schism.

2. From "the necessity of a catholic resolution of difficult and dubious places of Scripture."* For the Scripture is not of private interpretation, and there are great inconveniences in leaving Scripture to the interpretation of private men, or particular, though national, Churches. But let the inconveniences be what they will, the same argument returns again, that if there be such an infallible interpreter of Scripture he ought to be known; and that there are such disputes about the interpretation of Scripture proves that the Christian world do not own such a catholic interpreter, and therefore that they know nothing of him. And there is another argument, that there is no such catholic interpreter of Scripture, because we have no such catholic interpretation. And what is the Christian world

* Agreement, p. 80. Cath. Hierar. p. 87.

the better for a catholic interpreter if he does not interpret? And yet in the Church of Rome itself, we have no expositions of Scripture but from private and fallible men. The truth is, the Pope and his Councils have expounded plain Scriptures to a dubious, difficult, unintelligible sense, but never, that I know of, made any text easy and intelligible which was difficult before. To expound Scripture, is to make us understand it, not to impose upon our faith without understanding; and therefore this is not so much an act of authority as of skill and judgment; any man who can so explain Scripture to me as to make me understand it shall gain my assent, but no authority is sufficient to make me assent without understanding. And yet such a catholic expositor our author would set up, whose authority shall make me grant that to be the sense of Scripture, which his reasons and arguments cannot persuade me of. But all reasonable creatures must understand for themselves; and Christ nowhere commands us to believe that to be the sense of Scripture which we cannot understand to be so. I know no necessity that all Christians should agree in the interpretation of all difficult texts of Scripture; there is enough in Scripture plain to carry men to heaven, and as for more difficult and obscure texts, they are for the improvement of those who can understand them, and need no such catholic expositor, because it is not necessary that all men should understand them. Most of the controversies of religion, especially between us and the Church of Rome, are about texts of Scripture easy enough to be understood, and an honest teachable mind would sooner end our controversies than his catholic expositor.

3. Another necessity for an œcumenic pastor is "a necessity of a catholic determination of decency and order;"* *i. e.* that the same rites and ceremonies for decency and order should be observed in all Christian churches all the world over. Now I know no necessity of this; and that which is not necessary itself cannot make an œcumenic pastor necessary. *De facto*, there have been diversity of rites in the Christian Church in all ages: thus it was in St. Augustine's time, as appears from his Epistle to Januarius, 118; and then either there was no catholic pastor, or he did not think such a catholic uniformity of rites necessary. None of the Fathers ever condemn such a diversity as this, but exhort all Christians to conform to the innocent

* Agreement, p. 81. Cath. Hierar. p. 87.

customs and ceremonies of the Church where they came, though different from the customs of their own Church ; which St. Augustine tells us in that Epistle was the advice of St. Ambrose. And when Pope Victor excommunicated the Asian Churches for their different custom in observing Easter, Irenæus and other bishops did vehemently oppose him in it ; and therefore either did not believe him to be the catholic pastor, or did not think that the catholic pastor ought to impose an uniformity of rites upon all churches. The decency of worship is nothing else but to perform the external acts of worship in such a manner as may express our reverence and devotion for God. And therefore, since there are no catholic signs of decency, there can be no catholic uniformity in these matters. The decency of garments, postures, gestures, differ in several countries ; and so do the expressions of honour and reverence. And therefore such external rites being only for external decency, and having no sacredness by institution, may vary with the different customs and usages of countries. We must worship God in a decent manner ; this all Christian Churches are bound to, and this they do when they worship God in such a manner as among them signifies reverence and honour. But, says our author, “ then one Church will esteem this or that thing decent in the worship of God which another reckons absurd.” Then say I, they are as absurd as country people are who gaze at foreigners, and laugh at their exotic habits, and think everything ridiculous which differs from their own customs. But this uniformity is lost in the catholic Church, where it is most necessary to be had. An uniformity in external rites is not necessary in the catholic Church, and it may be cannot be had.

But why is it necessary there should be uniformity then in particular national or diocesan Churches ? *Ans.* Because it is fit and decent that those who worship God in the same assemblies should worship him in the same manner, and to do otherwise would contradict the public decency of the worship. Every bishop (as being the supreme governor of his own church and diocese) has authority to appoint the decent rites of worship in it ; and when all the bishops of a nation are united into one national body they may consent in some common rites of worship for the national Church, since the usages and customs of the same nation, the rules of decency, and the expressions of honour and reverence are the same, which gives an account what churches have this power to determine the

decencies and order in ceremonies ; every bishop has an original right to do this for his own church ; but as a national combination of bishops to govern their several churches by a mutual consent is of great use, so when they are united into a national body it is much more decent that they should agree upon an uniformity of rites for the national Church ; but there is not the same reason that this should extend to foreign churches, much less to the whole world, both because these combinations of bishops are limited to national churches, and the customs of the different countries change and vary.

4thly. "The necessity of a catholic canonization of saints ; for supposing a necessity of a due observation of saints' days, which the Church of England hath always insisted and pleaded for, it is to be inquired who or what Church canonized the saints," &c.* The Church of England indeed does observe some festivals in commemoration of the saints, but she needs no œcumenic pastor to canonize them : she observes the festivals of no saints but such as the Christian world acknowledge to be so, without the Popes' canonization : and the use she makes of saints needs no canonization, which is only to bless God for them, and to excite ourselves to an imitation of their virtues ; not to build temples and altars to them, or to worship them with religious honours as our mediators and advocates. This canonization of saints was a strange kind of argument from a pretended Independent, and it is such an argument as I thought at this time of day a Romanist himself would have been ashamed of : for pray what authority has the Church to canonize saints, and who gave her this authority ? Such consecrations and canonizations indeed were in practice in Pagan Rome, and Tertullian sufficiently scorns them for it. He tells us that there was an ancient decree, that "the emperor should not consecrate any god without the approbation of the senate ;"† for the emperor in those days was the *pontifex maximus*, or the œcumenic priest. This, the Father says, was to make divinity depend upon human votes ; and unless the god pleases men, he shall not be a god : how applicable this is to the canonization of saints let our author judge, and tell me whether there were any such practice known in the Chris-

* Agreement, p. 84. Hierar. p. 89.

† *Vetus erat decretum, Ne quis Deus ab Imperatore consecraretur, nisi a Senatu probatus.*—*Apud vos de humano arbitratu Divinitas pensatur ; nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, homo jam Deo propitius esse debet.* Tert. Apol. p. 6. Paris, 1664.

tian Church in Tertullian's days. To canonize a saint, to be sure, is to vote him into heaven; and if the œcumenic pastor has this authority, he is somewhat more than the head of the visible Church on earth, for his power extends to the invisible Church too.

5thly. "The necessity of a catholic composure of Church prayers,"* *i. e.* that the same liturgy should be used in all Christian churches; which never was practised in former ages, and no need it should be: we prefer a liturgy before private and extempore prayers; we think it most uniform that a national church should use the same liturgy; but if every bishop, who is the supreme governor of his own church, should have a liturgy of his own, I see no hurt in it, if it be a true Christian liturgy, and neither corrupt the Christian faith nor worship. When he can give me one wise reason why the whole Christian world must use the same liturgy, and that there must of necessity be an œcumenic pastor to compose this liturgy, I will consider it farther. His harangue about our charging Dissenters with schism does not relate to this matter: for setting aside the civil authority, whereby our liturgy is confirmed, their schism does not consist in using another liturgy, for they use none, but in separating from the communion of their bishop, who has authority to appoint what liturgy shall be used in his church: for the liturgy being agreed on in convocation, makes it an act of the Church, confirmed by the authority and consent of all the bishops, besides the concurrent votes and suffrages of the inferior clergy: and if every particular bishop have authority to appoint what form of prayer shall be used in his church, all the bishops of England may agree in the same liturgy, and those who deny obedience to their bishops, and separate from them upon such accounts, are guilty of schism: but where there is no such subjection and obedience owing, as there is none between particular bishops and distinct national churches, they may make liturgies and forms of prayers for themselves, and are accountable to nobody else for it.

6thly. His last necessity for an œcumenic pastor is, "for calling, convening, and dissolving œcumenical Councils."† Now, if there be no such absolute necessity of œcumenical Councils; if they may and have been called by emperors; if

* Agreement, p. 85. Cath. Hierar. p. 88.

† Agreement, p. 87. Cath. Hierar. p. 92.

they may meet together of themselves by mutual agreement, then there is no necessity of an œcumenical pastor for this purpose. "But such an assembly," he says, "must be a church assembly, or else it can claim no power in the Church, and all church assemblies are of right convened by the pastor of the said church in which it is, as in a diocese, the clergy is convened by the authoritative call of the bishop." This is the force of his whole argument, wherein there are two things supposed, which we desire him to prove. 1. That an œcumenical Council is not for mutual advice, but for direct acts of authority and government. 2. That a Council receives its authority from an authoritative call. When he has proved these two propositions his argument may deserve a new consideration.

An Answer to Section II. concerning the Agreement between the two Churches, about some of their imposed Terms of Communion, their Ministry, Ceremonies, and Image-worship.

I. *The Ministry.*

HAVING answered all their pretences of agreement between the Church of England and the Church of Rome concerning one supreme œcumenical pastor, what remains will give me no great trouble, and I shall give myself and my readers no more than needs must.

1. The first agreement is about the "ministry, unto which all are required to submit, which is the same with that of Roman Catholics, and maintained by the same arguments;"* that is, concerning the divine institution of bishops and subject presbyters. Now this charge we own, that we acknowledge the divine right of episcopacy, and that presbyters, by the institution of their office, are subject to bishops; and if the Roman Catholics own this, we agree with them in it; and so we will in any thing else that is true, and think it no injury to our cause; for we do not think ourselves bound to renounce what is true, only that we may differ from Roman Catholics: and yet the mischief is, that in despite of his title and design, he will not suffer us to agree with them here, but endeavours to prove that we do not agree with them. Thus he tells us :—

* Agreement, p. 36.

1. "Touching the difference there is between a bishop and a presbyter, as amongst the Papists some held that they were of the same order, differing only in degree; and others, that they were of distinct orders; so among our clergy" (I perceive our author has a mind to be a Protestant at last, by his crying 'our clergy') "there were some who, in King James I.'s days, asserted that bishops and presbyters were of the same order, but now it is carried for their being of two distinct orders;" but what is this to the agreement^a of the two Churches, that there are divines in each Church which differ about this point? If neither Church have determined this, then they agree only in not determining it; but if it were the current doctrine in the Council of Basil that bishops and priests are of the same order, and it be the avowed doctrine of the Church of England that bishops are of distinct and superior order, then I think the two Churches do not agree about this point.

And our author himself takes care to prove that we are not agreed: "for the Romanists," he says, "do not so much stick to the divine right of the episcopal order as to hold that, without violation of the divine law, a presbyter cannot be entrusted with the episcopal insignia and ordinary jurisdiction: yet it is the avowed doctrine of the Church of England, that the giving the power of conferring orders to a presbyter is so contrary to the divine law, that it is *ipso facto* null and void; and in pursuance of this doctrine, she re-ordains all those who have had only a presbyter's ordination, even whilst she is against a re-ordination." And thus he has himself confuted his first point, "the agreement of the two Churches about the ministry;" for a disagreement about the power of orders is so concerning a point in the ministry, that there can be little agreement after it. This determines the dispute that bishops do not differ in order, but only in degree from presbyters; for if bishops by a divine or apostolical institution were a distinct and superior order, presbyters could never be entrusted with the ordinary power and jurisdiction of a bishop, such as the power of conferring orders is; much less that a presbyter should have power to consecrate bishops, and bishops should be subject to presbyters, as he affirms of the Abbot of Hy: this overthrows the essential constitution of the ministry, if bishops are by institution a superior order to presbyters, that presbyters should have authority to consecrate and govern bishops; and overthrows one of the principal

arguments for an œcumenic pastor, as it is urged by our other author, from the power of conferring orders, which he says cannot be done but by a superior pastor; and surely presbyters, though sovereign abbots, are not superior pastors to bishops, nor to presbyters neither.

And yet the Church of England does not deny, but that in case of necessity, the ordination of presbyters may be valid; and upon this principle justifies the presbyterian orders of foreign churches while such unavoidable necessity lasts, as I have also done at large in the *Vindication*, to which this author so often refers. But the case of schism is a different thing, and I believe our author himself, though he grants a power to the Pope to entrust presbyters with the power of conferring orders, will not say that schismatical presbyters may take this power, or that their ordinations are valid if they do. And this is the case between us and our Dissenters, they ordain in a schism: and though necessity may make an irregular act valid, yet schism will not: and I would desire to know what reason it is for which they null the Protestant Reformed ministry; which, he says, is so much less severe than the principles of the Church of England. The artifice of all this is visible enough, to heighten and inflame the difference at this time between the Church of England and Dissenters, but in vain is the snare laid in the sight of any bird.

But that the reader may better understand the mystery of all this, I shall briefly shew why the Church of Rome is so favourable to that opinion, that bishops and presbyters are of the same order, and differ only in degree; why they allow the ordinations of abbots sovereign, who are but presbyters, to be both valid and regular; that they are exempted from the jurisdiction of the diocesan, and have in themselves episcopal authority, whereby they can ordain, correct, suspend, excommunicate, and absolve; nay, exercise this jurisdiction over bishops themselves, as this author tells us of the Abbot of Hy; which will shew how far we are from agreeing with the Church of Rome about episcopal power.

The plain account of which, in short, is this: that they distinguish their orders in the Church of Rome, with relation to the sacrament of the eucharist; and since the doctrine of transubstantiation prevailed, which is such a wonderful mystery for a priest to transubstantiate the elements into the natural

flesh and blood of Christ, this is looked upon as the highest act of power in the Christian Church, and therefore that must be the highest order which has the highest power; and since a mere priest has this power of consecration, which is as high an act as any bishop can do, therefore they conclude that episcopacy is not an higher order than the priesthood, but differs only in degrees with respect to the power of jurisdiction.

And the competition between popes and bishops, to serve their several interests, did mightily incline them to favour this opinion. The Papal monarchy could never arrive at its utmost greatness, without depressing and lessening the authority of bishops; and therefore aspiring Popes granted exemptions, dispensations, and delegations to presbyters; that there was no part of the episcopal office but what a presbyter might do by Papal delegations, which made presbyters equal to bishops, but advanced the Pope vastly above them.

When by these arts, which were so often complained of, the Pope's power grew boundless and infinite, and it was thought necessary to bring it lower, it could not be done without calling in the assistance of presbyters, and allowing them to vote in the Council; for the majority of bishops were engaged by interest and dependence to maintain the Papal greatness; and therefore if these matters must have been determined by the major votes of bishops, there could be no remedy against the Papal usurpations. For which reason, in the Council of Basil, those bishops who were devoted to the interest of the Pope, and knew they were able to secure the cause, if none but bishops might vote, insisted on this, that according to the precedents of former Councils, all matters might be determined only by the votes of bishops; and now the equality of order between bishops and presbyters was trumped up to serve another turn, to prove their right to vote in Councils, to assist those bishops who groaned under Papal usurpations, in some measure to cast off that yoke, and vindicate their own liberties.

To this original the equality of order between a bishop and presbyter is chiefly owing in the Church of Rome; from this authority the abbots sovereign derive their power, which is a subversion of the supreme authority of bishops, has no precedent, and would never have been allowed in the Primitive Church; and therefore as for the dispute about the Abbot of Ily, what the matter of fact is (which those learned men whom he assaults, I doubt not, are able to defend, were there a just

occasion for it) is nothing to our purpose. If it were as he says, it is an intolerable encroachment upon the episcopal authority, and void in itself.

We who deny transubstantiation, and disown any such authority in the Pope, to delegate the episcopal power to mere presbyters, do not, I suppose, very exactly agree with the Church of Rome in this matter.

Much at the same rate we agree in asserting the difference between a bishop and presbyter, to be of an immediate divine right; this, indeed, we do constantly affirm, that the institution of episcopacy is by immediate divine right; but is this the current doctrine in the Church of Rome? That he knew was false, and therefore had no sooner said it, but he unsays it again; for, says he, "It is true that those who are for the divine right of the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope over the catholic Church visible, do hold the divine right to be but mediate (*mediante Papa*), but the followers of the Councils of Constance and Basil are against the supreme uncontrollable power of the Pope, and for the immediate divine right of episcopacy. And it is notorious, from the debates in the Council of Trent, that the French, Spanish, and many other Roman Catholics stuck to their immediate divine right too, and the great reason why opposition was made in the Court of Rome against the immediate divine right of bishops, was an opinion that the supremacy of the Pope could not be secured on the granting it. But Dr. Sherlock has found out a notion which will be of great use to them, for the divine right of a primacy is a great step to the supremacy; and this the Doctor doth establish consistently enough with the divine right of bishops."

As for my own notion, I have sufficiently vindicated that already from doing any service to the Pope's supremacy, and see no occasion to add any thing more here; but I wonder he should pitch upon this instance of the divine right of episcopacy, to shew the agreement between the two Churches, when he himself is forced to acknowledge what fierce debates there were in the Council of Trent about this matter. He says, indeed, and that very truly, that the French and Spanish bishops in the Council did dispute very vehemently for the divine institution of episcopacy, and he knows what a prevailing opposition was made against it. The Pope sent express orders to the legates, that whatever they did, they should not suffer that to pass; Laynez, the Jesuit, was appointed by the legates and Papalins to make an elaborate lecture against it; wherein he

asserts, that Christ built his Church upon Peter, whose name signifies a stone* in the Hebrew and Syriac, and therefore, according to the most catholic exposition, Peter himself is that rock whereon Christ built his Church, that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to Peter only, and, by consequence, power to bring in and to shut out, which is jurisdiction; so that the whole jurisdiction of the Church is committed to Peter only and his successors. And if the bishops had received any jurisdiction from Christ, it would be equal in all, and no difference between patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops; neither could the Pope meddle with that authority, to diminish or take it all away, as he cannot do in the power of order, which is from God. That to make the institution of bishops *de jure divino* takes away the hierarchy, and introduces an oligarchy, or rather an anarchy. That according to the order instituted by Christ, the Apostles were ordained bishops, not by Christ, but by St. Peter, receiving jurisdiction from him only, or if they were ordained by Christ, Christ only prevented St. Peter's office for that one time. That the bishops are ordinaries, because by the Pope's law they are made a dignity of perpetual succession in the Church. That Councils themselves had no authority but from the Pope; for if every particular bishop in Council may err, it cannot be denied that they may all err together, and if the authority of the Council proceeded from the authority of bishops, it could never be called general; because the number of the assistants is always incomparably less than that of the absent. With much more to this purpose, which is all full and home to the point, which, as the Bishop of Paris observed in his censure of it, makes but one bishop instituted by Christ, and the others not to have any authority, but dependent from him, which is as much as to say, that there is but one bishop, and the others are his vicars, to be removed at his pleasure.

Whatever opposition was made against this in the Council of Trent, it could never prevail. The Pope's supremacy was advanced in that Council to its greatest height and glory, but the divine institution of episcopacy was dropped, though the whole Council was satisfied that the divine right of supremacy, and the divine institution of episcopacy were inconsistent; for this reason the Pope and legates, and Italian bishops, opposed the

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent. B. 7. p. 570, &c. [p. 611, &c. Lond. 1640.]

divine institution of episcopacy, and for the same reason the other party so vehemently contended for it; and then I will leave any man to judge which of these two opinions must pass for the sense of the Council and Church of Rome. We wish with all our hearts the Church of Rome did agree with us in the divine institution of episcopacy, which was the sense of the Primitive Church; but unless all parties in the Council of Trent were very much mistaken, the supremacy of the Pope as it is taught by that Council, does utterly overthrow the divine institution of bishops, and make them only the Pope's creatures and dependents.

3. As for his third head of agreement about the hierarchy, which is made up of archbishops, bishops, deans, prebends, canons, archdeacons, chancellors, officials, priests, deacons, &c. This is only an ecclesiastical body of human institution, for the good government and discipline of such combined Churches; and alterable again as the necessities of the Church require; and yet there is an essential difference between such Protestant national combinations of Churches, and the Popish hierarchy; the first is independent on any foreign powers, is perfect and entire in itself: the second has an œcumenic pastor for its head, and derives its power and authority from him; and this is enough to be said about our agreement in the ministry.

II. *The Ceremonies, or External Worship.*

This is the next instance of agreement* between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, and any man who considers the matter must needs be very much surprised at it. For if the two Churches were so very well agreed about ceremonies, it is very strange that the Church of England, from the beginning of the Reformation to this day, has rejected such a vast number of ceremonies, as were then, and still are in use in the Church of Rome. And for my part, it is my desire and prayer, that they may always agree so, while the Church of Rome maintains and practises such a corrupt worship.

To make this out, he says, our first Reformers opposed the ceremonies of the Church of Rome upon the same principles that our Dissenters now oppose the ceremonies of the Church of England, viz. by this argument,

"All uninstituted worship is false, superstitious, and idolatrous worship.

"But the Romish ceremonious worship is uninstituted. Ergo," &c.

* Agreement, p. 47.

And if our author can shew me any such argument urged by our first Reformers against ceremonies that are merely for decency, and order, and external solemnity of worship, I will grant, they argued very ill, and did much worse to retain any such ceremonies. But if he cannot shew this, as I am sure he cannot, then the reader knows what to judge of him and his argument too.

As for the controversy between the Church of England and Dissenters about the use of ceremonies in religion, it is nothing to our present dispute; and though our author has a mind to revive these disputes among us, he shall not draw me into it; it is sufficient we dispute against them, and against the Church of Rome, upon very different principles. Against them we defend the lawful use of indifferent rites and ceremonies in religious worship, though there be no express command for it in the word of God, if they serve the ends of order and decency, which are expressly commanded. Against the Romanists we never object, that their ceremonies have no divine institution, that they are not commanded, but either that they are very burdensome, or that they are abused to superstitious purposes, or that the signification of them is so dark and obscure, that they are of no use in religion, which is best expressed in the words of our Church, concerning "Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained."

"Of such ceremonies as be used in the Church, and have had their beginning by the institution of man (and therefore our Church, from the beginning, never quarrelled with ceremonies, because they had not a divine institution): some at first were of godly intent and purpose devised, and yet at length turned to vanity and superstition: some entered into the Church by indiscreet devotion, and such a zeal as was without knowledge; and for because they were winked at in the beginning, they grew daily to more and more abuses, which, not only for their unprofitableness, but because they have much blinded the people, and obscured the glory of God, are worthy to be cut away, and clean rejected: other there be, which although they have been devised by man, yet it is thought good to reserve them still, as well for a decent order in the Church (for the which they were first devised), as because they pertain to edification; whereunto all things done in the Church (as the Apostle teacheth) ought to be referred." With a great deal more to the same purpose, which everybody may see, who will turn to the beginning of his Common Prayer Book.

And yet I deny not, but our first Reformers might, as we do at this day, condemn all uninstituted worship, and condemn several practices of the Church of Rome under that notion ; such as invocation of saints, and worship of images, &c., but she never took her ceremonies to be any acts or parts of worship, but only some adjuncts and external circumstances, for the decent and orderly performance of religious worship. And to say, as this author does, that "the Dissenters did at last prove, to the conviction of the Church of England clergy, that the controverted ceremonies were parts of external worship, and that we were forced to fall in with the Roman Catholic in denying that uninstituted worship is false, superstitious, and idolatrous;" to speak softly, is not true. The Dissenters themselves never thought that external circumstances were parts of worship, but endeavoured to prove that our ceremonies were not mere circumstances of worship, but sacraments ; but I never heard of any divine of the Church of England that allowed them to be so, or that thought they had proved it.

What the sense of the present clergy is may be learned, as from a great many other excellent books, so especially from the Case of indifferent Things, and the Church of England's symbolizing with the Church of Rome. Which are in the collection of cases lately written for the satisfaction of Dissenters, when the government thought fit for other reasons to require a vigorous execution of those laws against them, which had lain dormant for some time. To shew the world at that time what persecuting spirits they were of, they used their utmost diligence, both by private conferences and public writings, managed with all the softness and tenderness that any dispute is capable of, to satisfy their scruples, and thereby to prevent their sufferings, which could be prevented no other way ; and let our author try his skill, if he pleases, to find out in those cases such an agreement, as he pretends, between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, which I believe he may as soon do as find out that persecuting spirit in them he so much talks of, unless good arguments and soft words may pass for a persecution.

But Dr. Covel, he says, calls ceremonies the external acts of religion : I grant he does so, and I think it a very loose definition of a ceremony. But then we must consider that he plainly enough tells us what kind of acts of religion our cere-

* Agreement, p. 50.

monies are, that they are only to make the "act of devotion to be more solemn, and that solemnity is in some measure a necessary adjunct to all public service."* And if solemnity be but an adjunct, and ceremonies but for solemnity, they cannot be in a strict notion acts of religion, but adjuncts of public worship. And as he calls them, "the hedges of devotion, and though not the principal points, yet as some Fathers call them, the second intention of the law, intermediate means not to be despised, of a better and more religious service." Which plainly enough shews what distinction he made between ceremonies strictly so called, and acts of worship.

And therefore he tells us that there are "three acts of religion: 1. The internal, which is the willing desire to give unto God his due worship and honour. 2. The external, answering to this, which is no otherwise good or commendable, than that it virtually serveth to this end.† 3. The commanded act, that it is the act of every virtue ordained by religion to God's honour." The second, which is the external act, and includes the whole external worship, he calls ceremonies, not as ceremony now signifies among us, the external decencies and solemnities of worship, but as it was anciently used to signify all external worship. And therefore he afterwards distinguishes between these ceremonies. That, "1. Some were for justification, such as the law commanded—in place whereof afterwards succeeded those that were for ornament, and to signify such virtues as were requisite in those parties that rightly used them."‡ These are those ceremonies, which before he told us were only external solemnities, and in some measure necessary adjuncts of worship, which are the only ceremonies in dispute among us and the Dissenters, which he calls adjuncts and solemnities as we do. He adds: "3. Some are parts of the immediate worship, as sacrifice, prayer, adoration, and such like; some only dispose, as fasting, austere living; some are only instruments, as churches, altars, chalices, and all those which religiously being separated, serve only to make the worship more solemn, and that solemnity more holy." So that though he calls the whole external worship, and everything that belongs to it, "ceremonies, and acts of religion," as having some relation to religious actions, yet he expressly distinguishes between the parts of worship and the external adjuncts and instruments of it, and therefore does not call our

* Coval's Modest Examination, c. 6, p. 55. † Ibid. p. 56. ‡ P. 58.

ceremonies acts of worship, as that signifies a part of God's immediate worship, but in a more lax sense, to include all external adjuncts and solemnities of worship.

And therefore the Church of England never had any occasion to justify her worship by such distinctions as the Church of Rome has invented of "primary and secondary, essential and accidental, proper and improper, worship,"* whereby they endeavour to justify that worship they pay to saints and angels, and images; which we have no use of, because we worship none but God. And our author is a very pleasant man, who would justify the worship of images, under the notion of ceremonies: surely the Church of England is not agreed with them here too; for we know no such ceremonies as are the objects of worship, and that an image is in the Church of Rome; we use some indifferent and significant ceremonies in the worship of God, but we do not worship our ceremonies.

III. *The Agreement about Image-worship.*

This will be answered in a few words. He forms his argument from a passage in the Answer to Papists protesting against Protestant Popery;† and from another in the Discourse against Transubstantiation, p. 21, and from the ceremony of kneeling at the receiving the Lord's supper. The Answerer says, that "to pay the external acts of adoration, to, or before, or in presence of a representative object of worship, as representing is the very same thing." In the Discourse against Transubstantiation, it is observed, "That the doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ was started upon occasion of the dispute about the worship of images; in opposition whereto the synod of Constantinople, about the year of Christ 750, did argue thus: That our Lord having left us no other image of himself but the sacrament, in which the substance of the bread is the image of his body; we ought to make no other image of our Lord. In answer to this argument, the second Council of Nice, in the year 787, did declare, That the sacrament after consecration is not the image and antitype of Christ's body and blood, but is properly his body and blood. And then the Church of England has enjoined bowing or kneeling at the reception of the Lord's supper, for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgments of the benefits of Christ

* Agreement, p. 48.

† Answer to Papists Prot. p. 81

therein given to all worthy receivers; and for avoiding such profanation and disorder in the holy communion as might otherwise ensue."

From these premises our author thus argues: "So that kneeling is expressive of the inward reverence of the heart to Christ, and so is an act of religious adoration: the kneeling then before the sacramental signs, is the same with kneeling to them; bowing before them, is the same with bowing to them; a worshipping before them, the same with giving religious worship to them. Which sufficiently shews, that in one great instance the Church of England retains the same kind of image-worship with the Roman Catholics; and so far we are agreed with them."

In very good time! But there is one thing yet remains to be proved, which he has conveniently dropped: and that is, that the Church of England owns the sacramental bread to be the image of Christ, and the representative object of worship: this he knew he could not prove, and therefore says nothing of it, for it does not follow, that because the Council of Constantinople affirmed, that the sacramental bread is the image of Christ's body; therefore the Church of England teaches so. I am sure, that author says no such thing, and if we should allow it in some sense to be the image, as that signifies the sacramental figure of Christ's body; does it hence follow, that it is the representative object of worship? And thus his *to*, and *before*, and *in presence*, is all lost; because the bread, according to the doctrine of the Church of England, is no representative object of worship, and therefore we neither bow *to*, nor *before*, nor *in presence* of the bread, as a representative object; and therefore the answer that author gave, that we do not kneel to the sacrament, but receive it kneeling, is a very good answer still.

Thus I have considered all his pretences of agreement between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, which they are as unfortunate at, as they are at representing: and methinks it argues some distrust of their cause, that they dare not downright defend it, but are forced either to represent it away almost into Protestant heresy, or to shelter themselves in their agreement with a Protestant Church; but the better way is to turn Protestants themselves, and then we will own our agreement with them.

THE DIFFERENCE OF THE CASE,
BETWEEN
THE SEPARATION OF
PROTESTANTS FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME,
AND
THE SEPARATION OF
DISSENTERS FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

SINCE the happy Reformation of this Church, they of the Romish persuasion have with their utmost art insinuated, that our Reformation proceeded upon principles destructive of all order and government in the Church; and that it naturally tends to endless separations. To this end they have laid hold upon that advantage which the divisions amongst Protestants have offered them, and said, that the reasons upon which we ground our separation from the Church of Rome, will hold to justify the separation of the Dissenters from the Church of England. And the truth is, some of the Dissenters have been so indiscreet, to say no more, as to allege the same thing. And I am very sorry that men of the same persuasion with us, in opposition to the impious errors and practices of the Roman Church, should give so much countenance to that grievous charge upon the Reformation, as some of them have done. The Papists are too much beholden to them for giving the occasion of this accusation: but to join with them in the same charge, is too great a kindness in all reason, and indeed destructive of the common cause of the Reformation, by insinuating one of these two things, either that there was no reason for this separation on either part; or else that notwithstanding our pretended Reformation, we are still as bad as the Church of Rome: for otherwise they cannot have the same reason to separate from us, that we had at first to separate from that Church.

I shall endeavour with God's help to shew, in a short and plain discourse upon this subject, that the cases are vastly different; and that we have very good reasons wherewith to justify our separation from the Church of Rome; and that

the Dissenters who forsake our communion, cannot by any good consequence from those reasons, warrant their separation from our Church.

In this attempt, "I am sensible," that I have adversaries on both sides ; and that it often happens to be a nice and hazardous business to determine between two extremes. But I hope there is no reason to apprehend great danger in this case ; since it is the same false charge against the Reformation in which these extreme parties agree ; and it is of that nature, that it is all one whether I confute it against the Papists, or against the Protestant^s separatists ; for if it be disproved against one, it is shewn to be unjust in both.

This is our case, that as we charge those of the separation from our Church with schism, so do the Romanists charge us of the Church of England with schism too ; but with this difference, as we pretend, that we have good reason for that, so have not they for this ; for schism is a causeless separation from a Church. And we think we may appeal to all disinterested and judicious Christians, that we have shewn our separation from Rome to be grounded upon just and necessary causes ; but that the Dissenters have shewn none such for their separation from us. And when all is done, it should not incline any man to think that the truth is either with the Romanist or with the Dissenter, because the charge of schism is laid by the Romanist against us, and by us against the Separatist with equal confidence, unless he sees withal that it is laid with equal justice.

For it was not indeed to be expected but that when some Protestants, demanding a farther reformation, separated from our Church, this pretence would soon after be set on foot both by those of the Church of Rome and by those of the separation. * It lay fair for them both, and right or wrong was likely to be taken up by both ; since it would serve exceedingly well to help a bad cause, and to give popular colours to the weak arguments both of the one and of the other side. The Romanist was not likely to forego such an advantage as the separation of our Dissenters gave him, to disgrace the Reformation amongst those that loved unity. Nor was the separatist likely to omit that advantage which our Reformation gave him to commend his separation from us, under the notion of a farther separation from Rome to those that abhorred Popery. And therefore it will stand all discreet persons in hand to weigh the merits of the cause on both sides, and not to admit any prejudice against our communion

in favour either of the Papist or the sectary, merely because they both say, that in justifying our separation from the Papist we vindicate the separation of the sectary from ourselves.

I must not in this narrow compass pretend to enter upon a discussion of the several questions controverted between us and our adversaries on both sides; but shall take it for granted, that what has been said in answer to the several objections of the Dissenters against our communion has been well argued against them: and likewise that in charging the Church of Rome with several corruptions in doctrine and practice, which have made her communion intolerable, we have said upon each point no more than what has been well proved against that Church, and which upon all fit occasions we shall, by the grace of God, be ready to make good again. But my principal design is to shew that there is no manner of inconsistency in the way we take to vindicate ourselves from schism, charged upon us by the Church of Rome, with those principles upon which we accuse our dissenting brethren of that fault who separate from the Church of England: and that the Romanist cannot take our arguments against the separation of the Dissenters to condemn our Reformation; nor the separatist our reasons against the communion of the Romanist to acquit himself in forsaking the communion of our Church.

This I conceive will be made to appear,

1. By laying down the reasons on both sides; those by which we pretend to justify our separation from the Church of Rome, and those upon which the Dissenters lay the stress of their separation from us.

2. By comparing them together, that we may judge wherein and how far these causes agree with or differ from one another.

In laying down the reasons on both sides, I shall begin with the grounds upon which this Church separated from the Church of Rome; and then proceed to those upon which the Dissenters separate from us.

1. To the Church of Rome charging us with schism, we answer in general: that our separation from her was necessary by reason of those corruptions in her communion, which we could not comply with against the conviction of our consciences. More particularly we say that this Church of England had no dependence upon the authority of the Church of Rome, which she might not lawfully throw off, and that she does not owe any subjection to the Bishop of Rome, but had just power, without asking his leave or staying for his con-

sent, to reform herself. And withal, that the Church of Rome ought to have reformed herself as we have done, since there were most necessary causes for so doing; the communion of that Church being defiled with the profession of those damnable errors, and the practice of those superstitions and idolatries which we have done away. To this purpose we challenge those of that communion with the particulars of their doctrine of transubstantiation, their sacrifice of the mass, their service in an unknown tongue, their half communion, their worship of images, their adoration of the host, and the rest of those abominations whereof the communion of that Church doth in great part consist. We acknowledge that we separated from them in these things when we reformed ourselves; but in so doing we were not guilty of schism from the Church of Rome, and that if nothing else were to be said, because this Church owes no subjection to that; but withal, that the causes of the Reformation being so necessary as we pretend them to be, the separation of communion that ensued upon our being, and their hating to be reformed, was on our side just and necessary upon that account also, and therefore not schismatical.

So that our answer is two-fold.

That the Church of England, being by no kind of right subject to the Roman or any foreign bishop, had full power and authority, without asking leave of foreigners, to reform herself; and this we say would have cleared her from the imputation of schism, if the causes of the Reformation had not been so necessary as indeed they were. If before the Reformation there had been no unlawful conditions of communion required in the Western Churches, and all the fault that could have been found in them had amounted to no more than bare inconveniencies and imprudence in the manner of their discipline, or in ordering the outward mode of worship, it had yet been free for the Church of England to have reformed those lesser faults within herself, though no other Church would have done the like. And though for such defects remaining in other Churches abroad, she ought not to have separated from their communion, yet she might very justly and commendably free herself from them at home. But if a foreign Church, suppose that of Rome, should hereupon have abstained from the communion of this Church till we had returned to the former inconvenient, though lawful, rites and customs, that foreign Church had been guilty of

schism in so doing. And if the Church of England, not willing to part with her liberty, and to prostitute her authority to the usurpation of the See of Rome, should have adhered to her own reformation, she had not been guilty of the breach of communion following that her resolution; because she had done nothing but what was within the compass of her just power to do, and in which she was not liable to be controlled by any other Church.

We say with St. Cyprian, "that the episcopal government of the Church ought to be but one, spread abroad amongst bishops, many in number, but heartily agreeing together."* But with the same excellent man we say too, "that it is equal that every one of them should have a part of the flock assigned to him, which he is to govern, remembering that he is to give an account of his management to God,"† which he said, in asserting the freedom of the African churches from subjection to the Roman. This, we think, is justly applicable to our case.

The Church of England is a national church, once indeed under the usurpation of the Roman Bishop, and at length rescued from that servitude; we are at present united together by common rules for government and worship, consulted upon and agreed unto by the bishops and presbyters in convocation, and then made laws to all the particular churches of this kingdom by the authority of the sovereign. These laws shew the reformation of the Church; and they do not want any authority they ought to have for wanting the consent of the Roman Bishop, upon whom we have neither ecclesiastical nor civil dependence. For if any one single bishop of the African Church might determine causes, and judge matters of ecclesiastical cognizance (which yet was seldom done in things of moment without the advice of colleagues when the Church had rest from persecution), and this without allowing appeals to Rome; much more may the bishops of a whole Christian kingdom confederate together to order Church matters independently upon the See of Rome, especially being required thereunto by their Christian sovereign, to whom they all owe subjection and obedience in all things, saving their common Christianity. So that if the causes of the Reformation had not been so weighty as indeed they were, yet considering the authority by which it was effected, our separation from Rome thereupon ensuing was

* Ad Antonianum, Ep. 52. [Ep. 55. ut supra, p. 112.]

† Ad Cornelium, Ep. 55. [Ep. 59. ibid. p. 136.]

wholly guiltless on our part, it being necessary, unless we would submit to the unjust and tyrannous claims of a foreign bishop.

2. To the charge of schism laid against us by the Romanist we answer also, "that the conditions of communion required in the Roman Church were many of them unlawful to be submitted unto;" since we could not communicate with her without professing doctrines that are plainly contrary to God's word, nor without doing several things that are clearly and particularly forbidden by it. And since it is not in the power of any man or church to dispense with our obligations to the laws of God, we could not be obliged to preserve communion with the Bishop of Rome and his adherents upon these terms. But because catholic communion ought to be preserved, they ought to have put away those scandals from amongst themselves, which since they have not done, though the separation is equal on both sides, yet the schism is not ours, but theirs only.

And therefore we farther say, that if the corruptions of the Roman Church (which God forbid) should ever come to be established in this Church of England again by the same authority that has abolished them, it were not only lawful, but a necessary duty, to separate from the communion of this Church in that case. We have that reverence of church authority and of the supreme magistrate, that we will submit to their determinations in all things wherein God has left us to our own liberty. But if they command us to do things contrary to his determination, and to take that liberty which he has not given us, we must remember that we are to obey God rather than man. We have that sense also of the mischief of divisions and separations, and of the duty of maintaining church communion, that if the laws of God be but observed, we are not only ready to comply with what our own superiors impose upon us, for the sake of peace and unity at home; but if we were to go abroad, we should observe the customs of other churches, though perhaps very different from ours, and this for the sake of maintaining one communion of Christians everywhere. But neither abroad nor at home can we purchase unity of communion at so dear a rate as to break God's commandments for it.

We know it is a good thing for all the parts of the church to have but one communion, but we must not do evil, that even this good may come. And least of all that evil which church communion and church authority were in great part designed to prevent. For as we believe that Christ formed his disciples

into a spiritual society, so we have great reason to conclude that one main end hereof was, that by the communion of Christians under their governors, the holy truths and laws of God concerning his worship and our salvation might be more advantageously held forth to the world, and more effectually guarded and maintained. And, therefore, to keep this communion one as much as in us lies, we will do anything required by our superiors that God has left us free to do or not. But to deny that holy truth or any part of it, or to break any of those Divine laws for the sake of which this communion itself was instituted, neither of these things dare we do to prevent divisions and separations. And we are as sure that transubstantiation, adoration of the host, worshipping of images, praying to the dead, and praying in an unknown tongue, are repugnant to several express texts of Scripture, not to say to common sense and reason. We are, I say, as sure that they are the plain laws and truths of God to which these things are contrary; and withal, that to guard these truths God instituted a Church and a communion of saints, as we are that there was any such thing as a Church instituted, or church communion required. And truly if separation, when there is such cause for it as we pretend, were not a necessary duty, it might become the duty of Christians to be united in scandalous impieties and damnable errors. And I think nobody will say, that in such things one communion is either to be desired or excused, but rather to be broken, and that every man is concerned, as much as his salvation is worth, to break away from it. And we are certain it can never be necessary to any man's salvation to be a schismatic.

Upon this account we say, that they who in Queen Mary's days chose to lay down their lives rather than return to the communion of the Roman Church were so far from being schismatics that they were God's martyrs in so doing. And had it been, or should it be our lot to have this choice so hard to flesh and blood offered to us; we trust, that through the mighty grace of God, we should follow the faith and patience of those holy men and women, who sealed this cause with their blood, meekly suffering under the displeasure of that just authority, the unjust commands whereof they could not honestly obey. This plain, though general account, we give of the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome. And if we pretend no more in our own defence against that Church than we can prove, we have reason to think ourselves safe on that side.

2. Let us now see upon what principles and by what pleas the Dissenters defend their separation from the Church of England. To us therefore charging them with schism upon this account, they answer also, that our communion is corrupt, and that they cannot with a safe conscience continue in it; and that they are bound for greater purity of worship and ordinances to divide from us. But in making out this general answer they do not all go the same way, nor do some of them allow those to be good reasons for a separation which others think substantial enough. That in which most of them do agree is in assigning some ceremonies enjoined in our Church, concerning which, some of them say that they are unlawful to be used in God's worship; others of them that there is great cause to doubt whether they be lawful or not. And these dare not join in our communion with scrupulous and unsatisfied minds. The things of this sort are the sign of the cross in the office of baptism (though this be made by the minister only), kneeling in the act of receiving the eucharist, and the ministers wearing the surplice in public worship. The other faults they find with the liturgy, however they are thought by the generality of Dissenters to be a reason sufficient to ground separation upon, are not I think produced by those that should best understand the cause, as amounting to make our communion directly unlawful. But yet there are that say, they "ought not to prefer a worse mode of serving God before a better." And the mode which themselves observe being better, they are to prefer that before ours, and therefore to separate from us for the most part. Others go yet further from us, and take liturgies and prescribed forms of prayer to be unlawful to be used, or at least suspect them so to be. And all these do generally dislike the form of diocesan episcopacy. However, they seem not to lay the stress of their separation upon that, since they acknowledge our churches to be true churches of Christ, and if it were not for other things might be lawfully communicated with, although they are governed by bishops. And because the civil authority concurs with the ecclesiastical in requiring conformity to our church laws, they do not pretend those laws to be enforced by an authority to which they are not bound to submit. And therefore as far as I can find, they rather chose to justify their separation upon the account of the unlawfulness, or suspected unlawfulness of the things imposed, or upon the preference of a better communion than ours is. But out of these I must except the

Independents, who acknowledge no other Church to be agreeable to the word of God, but such a company of Christian people united one to another by a particular covenant under officers of their own choosing, as can at once assemble in the same place for the worship of God. And these men think the very constitution of our Church to be reason enough for a separation from it. I will take notice of no other Dissenters at present, but those that separate upon some one or more of these grounds, which may be reduced to three.

1. That a national Church authority is an usurpation upon particular congregations, which are pretended to be the only churches of Christ's institution, and that every such church has full power in itself to order all things relating to worship and discipline, and is not of right accountable to any other authority for the order it shall take to govern itself in these things. And therefore the Independents, as I said, think themselves clear of the guilt of schism, as having separated from a Church which is not of Christ's institution. For they take an independent congregation only to be such. But yet these are willing to come in with the other Dissenters for their interest in the next ground of separation, upon which all of them, as far as I can judge, hope to find the surest footing; and that is :

2. That the conditions of our communion, those namely before-mentioned, are not lawful for a Christian to submit unto. And here I include those that do but scruple the lawfulness of those things which are enjoined in our Church. For they that say positively they are unlawful, and they that but suspect them to be unlawful, produce the same arguments; the former to justify their peremptoriness, the latter their scruples. The reasons, I say, upon which they go, are the same, only they work up some of them to a greater height of confidence than others are come to; and some again they leave altogether doubtful what to say, whether to conclude for us or against us. They agree in blaming our Church for requiring things to be done in God's worship which he has not commanded, some also of which have been and still are done by Papists in their idolatrous services, from whom we ought to depart in all things that are not necessary to be done. Upon these grounds some pretend to be sure, others to be afraid, that to suffer their children to be signed with the sign of the cross, to kneel at the communion, to be present at divine service where a surplice is worn, and to submit to liturgies and prescribed forms of worship, are unlawful. And these reasons I find owned in the

"Case of indifferent Things used in God's Worship, stated on the behalf of Dissenters," just now published.

For thus that author declares in their behalf: "We cannot," saith he, "conceive it possible, that in things of divine worship, things of an indifferent nature should be the just matter of any human determination farther than the particular practice of the person determining."* And again: "Where in matters of worship God hath wrote *ors*, whether by his pen in sacred writing,"† or "by his not prescribing the particular circumstances, no man can blot them out; though themselves may as to their own practice, for this or that time or act, where they cannot use more than one of those postures or circumstances."‡ That is, where God hath left men at their liberty to do this, or that they may determine themselves, but no human authority may determine for them. Farther, "As to things in God's worship not determined by God, they judge every man is *sui juris*, and ought to be determined by God alone to this or that;" i. e. he can be obliged to this or that part by God only. And he says plainly, "that most of them are confident that in matters of worship no superiors may restrain what God hath left at liberty." In pursuance of this general principle, he says, "Some posture in an human action being necessary, and none by God determined, in every act of worship where there is no determination, they believe themselves at liberty, and think they ought not to be determined by anything but their own practical judgment, according to present circumstances. It is a liberty with which God hath made them free."§ Again, he acknowledges that they judge it unlawful to obey laws concerning "words in prayer which God hath left at liberty; and concerning habits and gestures, supposing them to be left at liberty, and that none who is to use them verily judgeth them unlawful."|| And he intimates more than once, "that things not necessary, and ordinarily used in idolatrous and superstitious services, may not in their judgment be lawfully used."¶ How well he has proved these positions I am not concerned to examine; but leave him for that to his learned antagonist. These observations are particular enough for my purpose, which is to shew the difference between the ground of our separation from the Roman Church, and those of their separation from us, whom this gentleman defends.

3. There are these who, for all this, seem not to think our

Case on Behalf of Dissenters.

* § P. 14, 17.

† P. 2.

‡ P. 5.

§ P. 17.

¶ P. 20, &c.

communion unlawful in itself, since they can sometimes communicate with us in our whole service. But they judge the way of the separate meetings to be more perfect, and a better means of edification; and the ground of their separation is this, that it is unlawful to communicate ordinarily in a more imperfect way of worship, and enjoying the ordinances of the Gospel, where a better may be had.

2. I come now to the second point, which is to compare the grounds of separation on both sides together, that we may judge wherein they differ, or how far they agree.

1. I do acknowledge that the most general ground of all is the same on both sides, or at least may be so; that is, that we separate from the Church of Rome, in a full persuasion of conscience that so we ought to do; and that the Dissenters separate from the Church of England with the like persuasion. But how far this agreement makes the case of separation the same on both sides; and whether it will equally justify the Church of England's separating from Rome, and the Dissenters separating from the Church of England, will be considered time enough after all the other reasons are compared.

2. The next general reason on both sides alleged is, that separation was necessary for greater purity of worship and ordinances. We for greater purity separated from Rome: the Dissenters for greater purity separated from us. Now whether this may or may not reasonably be pretended by the Dissenters in their case, as well as by the Church of England in hers, will best appear when we have laid together the particulars excepted against on both sides, by us with reference to the communion of the Church of Rome; by the Dissenters with reference to the communion of the Church of England: and have also considered the way of maintaining objections against the terms of communion with Rome and England, that is peculiar to each side. But,

3. There is not the same plea offered to justify the separation in both cases, with respect to that authority by which the conditions of communion are prescribed. For we of the Church of England do unanimously deny that the Bishop of Rome hath any just authority to make rules for the communion, or to prescribe laws for the government of our Church. But all the Dissenters do not question the lawfulness of that authority by which our Liturgy is established, and those things which they object against, are required. For those of the Presbyterian persuasion amongst us, however they dislike diocesan episco-

pacy, yet seem not to insist upon it in their late writings as a ground of separation from this Church ; but if other things were reformed according to their mind, they would submit to our bishops, and by their conformity contribute to uphold the order of this national Church. But then the Independents indeed must, in consequence of their principles, deny that bishops singly or jointly, whether with the civil authority, or without it, have any right to prescribe to their congregations in matters ecclesiastical, since in these things they hold their members to be accountable to no authority under God, but that of the congregation to which they belong.

And now I shall compare the two cases of separation with respect to three things, which will, I conceive, comprehend all the fore-mentioned pleas on both sides ; that is, with respect, 1. To authority. 2. To terms of communion, and under this head to the common pretence of separating for greater purity. 3. To the plea of conscience.

1. With respect to authority. We are divided from the Church of Rome as one particular constituted Church from another, neither of which has any authority to prescribe to the other in matters ecclesiastical. And therefore, as I said before, though the terms of the communion of that Church were not unlawful, yet if she would have no communion with us, unless we would be governed by her laws : and if our Church governors should use their own liberty and authority to prescribe to us what they judged more suitable to the general rules of Scripture, and more conducive to the great ends of Christianity : the separation ensuing upon that Church's affecting an usurpation over us, could not be schismatical on our part, who are not the subjects of the Bishop of Rome ; but upon the part of that Church it would be so, for her exercising an authority where she has no right so to do.

But the case of the Dissenters is far otherwise, who separate from this national Church in which they were born and baptized, and where they live. For by thus doing, we say, that they withdraw their obedience from their lawful governors ; from whom if they divide, especially if they set up a communion distinct from that of their superiors, and of the congregations under them, they are guilty of manifest schism, unless the terms of communion be unlawful. For it is by no means sufficient to clear them of this fault, that those things which fall within the compass of church authority are not well ordered ; because, although this were true, yet in these things

their practice is to be determined by that authority. For we think it very evident, that no society can be united and maintained without this principle, that a lawful authority is to be submitted unto and obeyed by inferiors in all lawful things, and that the mere imprudence or inexpedience of its determinations, cannot absolve them from their obligation to comply therewith.

Now that it is a lawful authority upon which the constitution of a national Church stands, I think no man can deny, that will grant a national Church itself to be but a lawful constitution. For there is the concurrence both of civil and ecclesiastical superiors to give them force. The bishops and presbyters first agreed upon the same rule and order for church government and worship, which being afterward approved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, was then made a law by the King. So that if the confederation of the particular churches of this kingdom to govern themselves and to serve God in religious assemblies, by the same rule and according to the same form, can become the matter of a law obliging all Christians amongst us to conformity; here is no authority wanting to induce such an obligation.

And it is to be considered, that every one who separates from that parochial congregation where he lives, and betakes himself to an opposite communion, had been guilty of schism in so doing, although the churches of this kingdom had not been united as they are into a national form; but each bishop with his presbyters had made rules for religious assemblies independently upon the rest. But now the fault of such separation is heinously aggravated, as the case stands, by these two considerations.

1. That those orders or impositions, upon the account whereof he separates from the parish where he lives, were made by the common advice of the pastors of Christ's flock in this kingdom; and that for a common rule to them all: which method was a most proper means to unite their particular churches more closely one to another, and to edify and strengthen them by such union. Therefore that separation which would have been blameable of itself, is so much the worse as it tends to break so profitable an union, and to expose the authority of so many Church governors to contempt, as contributed towards it by their advice and consent.

2. That since the rules thus agreed upon are made laws also by the sovereign power; such schism is aggravated farther by

disobedience to the lawful commands of the civil authority under which we live, and to which all particular churches in this kingdom do owe obedience in all lawful things. And now I believe our Presbyterian brethren will grant, that upon these accounts there is a vast difference between the cases of separation from the Church of England, and from the Church of Rome in point of authority.

But then I must confess, the Independents are likely enough to say, that these impositions are as truly usurpations upon particular congregations, as if they had been enforced upon this kingdom by a pretended authority from Rome. And if there were no difference between saying and proving, we might here be at a considerable loss. However, this must be granted, that an English bishop may have good authority to govern his diocese, and a presbyter his parish here in England; and yet it may be foolish and unjust in a foreign bishop, to claim any authority over the one or the other. And I hope they will not deny that the King has good authority here, though the Pope has none; nor that the laws of the land concerning religion and God's worship, do bind the consciences of the King's subjects something more than if they had wanted the authority of the legislative power at home, and came to us from abroad with nothing but the seal of the fisherman to recommend them; *i.e.* that in this latter case we might have refused them as wanting authority, but not so in the former; but that the matter of them being supposed to be lawful, they ought to be complied with. And whereas the Independents suppose the independency of their congregations to be of divine right, both in opposition to episcopal superiority and to national Church government, this we must leave to the merits of the cause between them and us. And I may as well take it for granted, that their pretended right to independency has been as clearly argued of novelty and weakness, as the Pope's pretended right to supremacy has been; argued, I say, of more novelty, and almost as much weakness.

But to step a little out of the way of my present business: I may appeal to all understanding persons, who cannot judge of the learning used on both sides; whether that notion of a Church or of Church communion is likely to be true, which makes it impossible for the particular churches of a Christian kingdom to be united under the sovereign authority in the observation of the same rules advised upon, and the same laws for the benefit of them all. In the mean time I conclude this

head with saying, that though the Pope has no authority in this kingdom, yet it follows not that every particular congregation must be independent. And I challenge any man to take any one argument used by any of our Church, to prove the independency of our Church upon the Bishop of Rome, and make it hold to prove the independency of a congregation, either upon a national or episcopal Church, if he can. Wherefore supposing the decrees of the Bishop of Rome to be of no good authority amongst us; and our own laws in matters ecclesiastical to want no good authority, the conditions of communion being otherwise lawful on both sides; then the separation ensuing upon our refusal to submit to those decrees, would not be schismatical on our part; but the separation of our Independents, and all others amongst us refusing to submit to these laws, would be so on their part. And thus much for the difference in point of authority.

2. We are to compare the cases also with respect to the terms of communion relating to matters of faith and-worship.

And in the first place, the Dissenters acknowledge that the faith professed in this Church is pure and entire, and that she does not require the profession of any doctrine in order to her communion, which a good Christian has reason to suspect. And this makes a great difference between the terms of communion with our Church, and the terms thereof with the Church of Rome, which requires the profession of gross and palpable errors, of all whom she admits to her communion.

But the great offence is taken at our forms of divine service, and the ceremonies thereunto belonging. And the offended parties are of three sorts.

1. Those that do not directly charge any of our practices in worship as sinful, but suppose some of them to be inexpedient and unedifying: and they that separate upon this account, must acknowledge this difference in the case, that whereas we separating from Rome forsook an unlawful communion for one that was lawful; they separating from us, forsake a lawful communion for one that they believe to be better. And of these I shall take notice again in a fitter place.

2. Another sort are they who pretend something more, that is, that they scruple the lawfulness of the things enjoined, and that they ought not to communicate with us, so long as they remain under these doubts. And these men also must confess a great difference between the reason upon which they separate from us, and that for which we separate from the Church of

Rome; since we are past doubting in the case, and positively affirm those conditions of communion with the Church of Rome, which we complain of, to be in themselves unlawful. And in consequence hereof, they must not deny that there is a great difference also between those grounds upon which they and we pretend against that Church the unlawfulness of her impositions, and those upon which they suspect the like of ours; and that is, that the Roman Church is by us attacked with clear and unquestionable evidence of reason and Scripture against her; but that it remains doubtful whether there be any good evidence in Scripture against us: concerning which more will be said under the next head. In the meantime it does by no means follow, that because separation is just and necessary, where some things are required to be done which we certainly know God has forbidden; therefore it is just and necessary also where other things are required, concerning which we do not know but they may be lawful.

3. The third sort are they that pretend these forms of worship and ceremonies, which the former either scruple or judge only inexpedient, to be indeed sinful, and to render our communion not only suspected and less desirable, but plainly unlawful. And I grant, that these are the men that come up to the point; and if they could but make good what they say, they would shew their separation from our Church to be grounded upon one general reason of our separation from the Church of Rome, which would sufficiently clear us from the imputation of schism, if no other reason were to be given. But I believe a very wide difference of the case will appear, when we come to consider,

1. The particular practices themselves, which are by us said to be unlawful in the communion of the Roman Church; and those which by the Dissenters are said to be unlawful in ours. And,

2. The way and means by which we pretend to prove those, and that by which they pretend to prove these unlawful.

1. Let us consider the particulars themselves. The Dissenters do with us condemn, as unlawful, prayers in an unknown tongue; the adoration of the host; worshipping the cross; and the like practices of the Roman Church in her forms of worship: from which they acknowledge also, that we have purged our communion. But they say we have retained other practices something akin to these, though not quite so bad: for instance, kneeling at the communion; wearing the surplice;

signing with the sign of the cross ; and some of them add, the public use of forms of prayer. Now all that I design under this head, in comparing the former and the latter particulars together, is to shew that the unlawfulness of the former being supposed, the unlawfulness of the latter cannot be from thence inferred ; and that for this plain reason, because the questions concerning the one and the other are perfectly distinct from one another. For as the Bishop of Rome's having no authority here in England, shall not hinder the authority which our bishops exercise in England from being lawful and good ; so to pray in an unknown tongue, may be absurd and contrary to Scripture : but for all this, forms of prayer in a language understood by the whole congregation, may not only be lawful but profitable, and in most cases necessary. The adoration of the host may be an idolatrous practice ; yet to kneel in the act of receiving the eucharist, where such adoration is disclaimed, shall be no such practice. We may sign the baptized infant with the sign of the cross, and yet not worship that sign ; we may do the former in token of the obligation which baptism layeth upon us, without attributing any of that virtue or efficacy thereunto which makes the Popish use of it foolish and superstitious. What practice is there in the Roman Church which we as unlawful have abandoned, from whence the unlawfulness of wearing a surplice, or seeing it worn, can with any colour of reason be drawn ? In a word, what erroneous doctrine in the Church of Rome, or unlawful practice confessed by the Dissenters to be by us rejected, can be assigned, from which the unlawfulness of any of those things excepted against in our Liturgy can be inferred ? Let them take any one argument used by us to prove such or such a particular condition of communion unlawful which that Church requires, and by that argument prove some condition unlawful in ours, if they can. But perhaps they will say, that if they can prove this by other arguments, the case in general will still be the same. This I confess, and therefore I proceed to the second point, which was,

2. To shew the difference between the way and means by us used to prove those conditions of the Roman communion unlawful, which we except against ; and the manner of arguing used by the Dissenters against us. Now our way is plain and direct ; for we prove those particulars in the Roman worship unlawful which we condemn, by this argument, that they are forbidden in God's word ; and this we prove by those express

and particular places of holy Scripture to which they are repugnant. And if we fail not of producing such testimonies against the corruptions of that Church, we have the advantage against the Papists. And if the Dissenters charge any condition of our communion with repugnancy to God's law, and can as clearly shew where he hath forbidden it, they have the like advantage against us.

Now indeed they say that the things imposed upon them, however we esteem them indifferent, are by themselves judged unlawful. Thus the forementioned author saith, "Could they (the Dissenters) but look upon the forms and rites of our worship under that notion (of things indifferent) possibly their contest would neither be great nor long."* I do not like these words, for that which may be, may not be; and possibly the contest would be great and long, though they should look upon these things as indifferent. However he says, that "we suppose those things indifferent which they cannot but judge unlawful, as they have often told their brethren."† But how do they prove them unlawful? Do they shew where God hath forbidden them? As we, for instance, produce the second commandment to shew that in that commandment God hath forbidden the worship of images, so do they; or can they produce any such testimony of Scripture against kneeling when we receive the eucharist? And as we allege, 1 Cor. xiv. against praying in an unknown tongue; can they shew us any text in all the Bible against praying by a form of words? No, this is not what they pretend to do. But then we are apt to conclude, that if these things be not forbidden, that they are at least indifferent, and therefore lawful. And which is something more, we have their leave also thus to conclude, seeing "there is none of them but agreeth with us in our notion of indifferent things, *viz.* that they are such things as by the divine law are neither enjoined nor forbidden: things undetermined by the law of God in nature or Scripture."‡ How then do they prove those things unlawful to be done in God's worship, which God hath not forbidden either in the law of nature or Scripture? To make short work of it: those particulars in our communion which they except against, are unlawful, because they are not necessary to worship, nor commanded by any express law of God. Which is as much as to say, that though they are indifferent, because they are neither enjoined

* Caseon behalf of Diss. p. 2. † P. 3. ‡ P. 3.

nor forbidden by the law of God in nature or Scripture; yet they are not indifferent, and that because they are not enjoined. So that whilst our brethren allow the determination of indifferent things to authority, they take away with one hand what they give with the other. For according to their principles, there is nothing left for authority to determine, as to the ordering of God's public worship. For one would think that the matter of such determination should be those things which God hath left to our liberty. But you are mistaken if you think so; since for this very reason that they are left at liberty, it is unlawful for one man, be his authority what it will, so long as it is but human authority, to determine in them for another; and it is unlawful for this other man to submit to his determination. For we are told, "that the light of nature directeth us to use the most convenient circumstances for the worship of God, and the law of nature will enforce men in doing actions, to use time and place. For other things, such as the postures of prayers, or words used in prayer, the holy Scripture is every where as sufficient to us as the law of Moses was to the Jews, which commanded, as to the passover, the offering a lamb or a kid, and left it to the discretion and conveniency of the offerer to determine which.—So for standing, sitting, or kneeling, at prayer, God indeed hath left the one or the other of them to us not determined, leaving it to our choice or conveniency which to use, who sometimes cannot use standing, another time cannot use kneeling.* He hath commanded us to pray, and that with our voice, as well as our hearts; but that he hath not told us what words we should always use.—God hath therefore left us at liberty what words to use, as he left the Jews at liberty whether to offer a lamb or a kid.—And Moses might by the same authority have tied up all the Jews to offer none but kids, or none but lambs, as superiors can tie up inferiors to use none but such or such words in prayer. And the Jews might every whit as lawfully have obeyed Moses in such a command, as we can obey any superiors in such a case. That is, it had been unlawful in the Jews to have obeyed Moses in such a case, and it would be unlawful in the Dissenters, and it is unlawful in us to obey our superiors in any of their determinations concerning things in God's worship which God hath left at liberty."

How this author hath pursued his argument, is not my busi-

* Case, p. 29, 30.

ness to consider. It is sufficient for my design to shew the vast difference between the grounds upon which we charge the Church of Rome with requiring unlawful terms of communion with her in her worship, and those upon which the same fault is imputed to the Church of England by the Dissenters. We prove our charge, by shewing that God hath forbidden what that Church requires to be done; they prove theirs against us by shewing that God hath left those things at liberty which are required in this Church. We shew that the Church of Rome enjoins practices that are unlawful for any man to determine himself to: they shew that this Church enjoins practices which are not unlawful for a man to choose for himself, but for authority to choose for him. The things they except against in our communion, are in themselves indifferent, and they cannot make them unlawful otherwise than by fetching a compass about, and pretending that they are then unlawful to be done, when our superiors require us to do them.

And now I may leave it to the judgment of all men that can consider a case without great prejudice, whether there be reason to forsake the Church of England upon the account of unlawful terms of communion pretended to be in her worship, as well as upon the same account to leave the communion of the Church of Rome; that is, whether a thing may become unlawful in God's worship for not being commanded by God, and for being enjoined by man; because everything that God hath forbidden, is neither lawful to be commanded by man, nor to be done, though it be so commanded. I know not whether some of our brother's party may not think that he hath given us too much advantage, by reducing the question to this state. But I think it is not his weakness, but the weakness of his cause, that has led him to it. For they are not able to prove the unlawfulness of the present impositions in order to communion, but upon such principles as these are. And I may appeal to mankind concerning the difference of the case between them against us, and us against the Church of Rome in this matter; that the reason of our separation from Rome will not justify their separation from us, nor that the reason upon which we challenge them of schism, can fly in our own faces, when the Church of Rome challengeth us of the same crime. But I shall say no more of this point at present, because I foresee occasion of resuming it presently in another place.

But this author offereth another reason also of the unlawfulness of those things that are required, and that because

they have been and still are used in idolatrous services, and are not of themselves necessary to be used by us. I think I may venture to say, that this reason has been sufficiently exposed. But my business is to note the difference of the case: we separate from Rome, because otherwise we must communicate with her in her idolatry, which is necessary not to be done: the Dissenters separate from us, because otherwise they must do some things not necessary to be done, which have been and still are done by idolaters.

Again, The Dissenters, as he says, "scruple kneeling in the act of receiving the communion, because there is an *objectum motivum*, as he calls it, before their eyes." I think he means, because the elements are worshipped by the Papists, who say they believe them to be no longer elements, but God himself. And to kneel therefore when we take these into our hands, is to give some occasion to others to think that we worship the elements; and therefore the Dissenters question the lawfulness of an adoration of God under these circumstances. I am glad if it be but question and scruple, though I am sorry it is so much. But whether they only scruple kneeling upon this account, or more than scruple it (for this gentleman does not always speak so distinctly as I could wish): there is however this difference in the case; that whereas one principal reason why we separate from Papists, is because we dare not worship bread, which without all question is idolatry; one reason why the Dissenters separate from us, is because we have so loudly declared against that idolatry, do worship (not the bread, which we believe to retain its own nature, but) God only, as they themselves confess, when we partake of that bread.

And here I may be content to let the matter rest, that whether we consider the particulars pretended to be unlawful in both communions; or the way taken by us to prove those unlawful which the Church of Rome would impose upon us, and that way which the Dissenters use to make out the like charge against the Church of England, the difference is so great, that the charge of schism, which upon this account, *viz.* of terms of communion in worship, we bring against the Dissenters for separating from us, cannot with reason and modesty be returned upon ourselves for separating from the Church of Rome.

I have now compared the two cases, with respect to authority, and terms of communion. But before I proceed to compare them with respect to the plea of conscience, I shall endeavour

to represent some other differences of the case that are plainly consequent upon one or both of those differences which we have already considered. And they are these three :

1. The difference of the case with respect to separation for greater purity of worship and ordinances.

2. The difference with respect to that common question, Who shall be the judge ?

3. The difference of the principles upon which either side separates, as to their tendency either to maintain, or to overthrow one communion amongst Christians.

1. With respect to separation, for greater purity of worship and ordinances. The Dissenters say, that "if for greater purity England separated from Rome, others also may for greater purity separate from England." And because I perceive this consequence is insisted upon, not only by well meaning people, but by some that would not be thought the meanest of the party, I shall examine it as thoroughly as I can, hoping to gain the reader's pardon if I repeat some things that have been already discoursed ; but which are necessary to be observed, in order to a right understanding of this matter.

The ground I shall proceed upon in discoursing of this consequence, is, that we and the Dissenters do not understand the same thing by greater purity. By the impurity or corruption of the Roman communion, which is the principal reason of our departing from it, we understand the sinfulness thereof ; and by separating from that Church for greater purity, we thereby mean forsaking her communion, that we might not partake in her sins ; which otherwise we could not avoid. To make good this charge, that her communion was and still is corrupted in this sense, we have but that one plain way already declared. We shew that there are several doctrines which she professeth, several things in her worship which she practiseth, that are plainly contrary to the truth which God hath revealed, and to the laws which he hath delivered to us : and that those errors and these practices are not of a slight nature, but that they grate upon the very foundations of Christianity : and moreover, that she exacteth the profession of the one, and the doing of the other, from all her members. So that when we say, that we separate from that Church for greater purity, we mean, that there are several impure or sinful conditions of communion required in that Church, with which, as she has ordered the matter, we must pollute ourselves, and

of which we ourselves must be guilty, if we communicate with her at all. And therefore it was necessary for us to depart from her, because it is most necessary not to deny the truths, or break the laws of God. Therefore also by saying, that we separated for greater purity, we mean not that we have forsaken but some corruptions only of the Roman worship, as if our communion were now indeed purer than theirs, though not so pure as it ought to be. This is not our meaning; for we contend that this Church hath purged away all those practices, and abolished all those rules relating to God's worship, which are contrary to his word; and by consequence, that there is no impurity left in the conditions of our communion; so that any man whose conscience is rightly informed, may communicate with us without sin. Wherefore this comparative expression of separating for greater purity from the Roman Church, respecteth the state of that Church, supposing indeed that all the conditions of that Church's communion were not impure, but withal implying that some of them, and those truly not a few, were so; and therefore that her communion was not pure enough for any Christian to join in it with a good conscience. Thus I have shewn what we understand by separating for greater purity, and how we maintain this plea in answer to the Church of Rome.

Now therefore, although the Dissenters use the same plea in words, in answer to us, yet if they do not understand the same thing by it that we do, nor attempt to make it out by shewing wherein our communion is corrupted with such conditions as oblige the members of this Church to do what God hath forbidden, or to neglect what he hath commanded them to do, or to contradict what he hath revealed: this plea, I say, if it be not made out by such particulars as these, is by them weakly brought to justify their separation from us, by our example in separating from Rome. And though the general pretence may serve to delude the injudicious people, who have not learned to distinguish between reasons and colours; yet it will neither acquit them before God, nor in the judgment of wise men, who can easily discern, and will impartially consider the difference of the case. It is indeed a plausible colour for their separation from us, that we separated from Rome for greater purity; and but a colour, unless they could shew wherein our communion is impure, or which is all one, what are those conditions thereof which be sinful or repugnant to the laws of God.

But what is it that they mean by this greater purity of worship, for which they separate? Wherein doth this purity consist? Let reasonable men judge. Extemporary prayers are more pure than forms of prayer: to receive the communion sitting or standing, is more pure than to receive it kneeling: to omit the sign of the cross after baptism, is more pure than to use it: and the ministers praying in a coat or a cloak, is more pure than to pray in a surplice. But till they can shew that our way, in any of these instances, is forbidden by God, either they cannot justly pretend that it is impure, or at least they must confess that they mean by impurity, something else, when they charge it upon us, than what we mean by it, when we charge it upon the communion of the Romish Church, and therefore that they do not use the same plea against us, that we produce against that. For with us impurity is sin, and an impure communion is a communion in which we cannot communicate without sin, *i.e.* without transgressing the law of God. But as far as I can see, impurity with them must go for something else, that is, either for doing things that God hath not forbidden, or for the omitting of things that he hath not commanded. And if the Church hath power in indifferent things, and that be pure, against which there is no law; their pretence of separating for greater purity is altogether groundless, unless they can prove that they cannot have communion with us, without neglecting to do what God commands, or doing what he forbids.

Therefore the former discourse concerning terms of communion, shews that there is a vast difference between this plea, as it is used by us, and as it is used by the separatists against us. For we do not separate from the communion of the Roman Church upon this principle, that "the Church hath no power to make orders for the worship of God in matters that are left to our liberty, or to prescribe rites and ceremonies that are not contrary to God's word." But upon this principle, as far as we can judge, do the Dissenters separate from us; and the main controversy we have with them is, whether it be within the compass of human authority, to prescribe in things of this sort; and consequently, whether it be part of the duty of Christians to submit unto, and in their practice to comply with such prescriptions. They will not deny, that we shew that Church of Rome where the Scripture forbids what the Church requires, and this, through all those instances of their corruption in worship, for which we

pretend it necessary for us to depart from her communion. Now if the Dissenters can shew the like of any condition in our communion, I promise to recant all that I have said in behalf of the Church of England, under this head of the purity of her communion; and instead of vindicating my defence of our Church, as to this particular, to depart from her communion in that thing, whatever may come of it, from this time forwards. And I trust that, through the grace of God, I should not for the sake of any worldly interest, either resist the evidence of any clear argument tending to my conviction, or act in contradiction to a convinced conscience and judgment, in a matter of this high nature.

But to deal plainly, the Dissenters seem to be very sensible of the uncasiness of this task, that is, of proceeding in the same method to convince us of unlawful terms of communion, which we use against the Church of Rome. They go another way to work, and it would make an indifferent man suspect their cause to see what shifts they use to make good their pretence. They demand of us where Scripture commands, or what need there is of those things which our Church requires. They pretend that the liberty of Christians does in great part consist in this, that they ought not by man to be determined to any practice in God's worship, to which God, or the nature of the thing, has not determined them. They say, that the appointment of significant rites and ceremonies is a derogation from the royalty of Christ, and the sufficiency of the Scriptures. And to give some countenance to these pretences, they would persuade us that the Scripture itself intimates some such thing, as if nothing were to be done in God's worship but what is by God himself commanded, excepting always those circumstances necessary to action, the choice whereof must yet be left to every man, and, as we are now taught, authority must not so much as meddle with them. To this purpose we are told of the pattern in the mount, of strange fire that was not commanded, and of the unlawfulness of adding to, or diminishing from the law of Moses; as if these places of Scripture made all impositions concerning the order of divine worship as unlawful as the express word of God shews so many particular practices of the Roman Church in her worship to be. But leaving these attempts of theirs to be examined in the more particular controversies; who sees not what a wide difference there is in the particular management and application of this general proposition, that we must not communicate with any

Church in impurity, between the Church of England against the Papists, and between the Dissenters against the Church of England? For we are secure against all just accusation from the Church of Rome, if this one proposition be true, that it is not in the power of any Church to dispense with the laws of God, or to absolve us from our obligation to keep them. But the Dissenters cannot avoid the justice of our charge against them, unless this proposition be true also, that the Church hath no authority in things of an indifferent nature, to prescribe such in divine service, as shall be thought most agreeable to the general rules of reason and Scripture, and most suitable to the great ends of Christianity. Now, if what we say in these things will hang well together, that is, if the former proposition be true, and if the truth thereof shall not hinder the latter from being false, then with very good reason may we pretend that it was necessary for us to separate from Rome for greater purity, or for the avoiding of sin; but the Dissenters will have no just ground from our example to pretend the same in their separation from the Church of England.

And, I think, the difference is plainly enough confessed by those of the separation, that hold occasional communion with our Church to be lawful; that is, who think it lawful to communicate actually with us upon occasion, though they are all the while members of separate Churches. For if our communion is polluted with sinful conditions, how comes it to pass that this occasional communion, as they call it, should be more lawful than constant communion? Unless they will say it is lawful sometimes to break God's commandments, but not lawful to do it ordinarily. But I know they will not say so. And, therefore, when they say that they cannot without sin become members of our churches, though without sin they can sometimes join in our public worship, they seem to suppose that the way of worship in the separate meetings is more perfect than ours, in respect of those things which do not fall under any particular law of God, but may be ordered better or worse, as men are more or less prudent, or as they take greater or less heed to the general rules of reason and Scripture concerning things indifferent. And withal, that there is so much more gravity, decency, simplicity, and tendency to edification in the outward mode of their worship, that it would be a sin to let it fall, or in practice to prefer ours before it. But by this I think any body may see what a difference there is between what we and these men mean by the same pretence of refusing

to communicate, where it cannot be done without sin. For our meaning is, that there are such conditions of communion in the Church of Rome, that, as the case stands, it should be a wickedness to communicate with her at any time. But they mean no such thing against us, since without scruple they can sometimes communicate with us; only they suppose they have set up a more perfect communion; and they do not forsake our communion as unlawful in itself, but they think it their duty to prefer a better before it. So that in this pretence for separation, these men do not understand purity in opposition to sin, or breaking any of God's commandments; but purity in opposition to a less convenient or prudent ordering of the outward mode of worship: that is, they do not understand the same thing by separating from the communion of a Church for greater purity, that we understand by it; nor can they urge that pretence for separation from us, as we do urge it against the Church of Rome; and, consequently, our reason of separating from that Church for greater purity, does not hold to justify their separation from us.

Upon consideration of the whole matter, I hope the Papists will find no Protestant of our Church easy and silly enough to be deluded by such superficial colours as these are. "You see," say they, "what is become of leaving the communion of the Church for greater purity. The Protestants at first forsook the Catholic, *i.e.* Roman Church, for greater purity. And do not the Presbyterians forsake the Church of England for greater purity? And so do the Independents set up their congregations for greater purity. And the Anabaptists, for the same reason, depart from them: and the Quakers from them all. And there is no end of breaking communion upon such pretences as these are, which are as good against yourselves as they are against us; and therefore you may choose whether you will return to the Church from which you first brake away, under pretence of reformation, or whether you will follow your principle till you are refined into Quakers, or, it may be, into a more absurd and mad sort of people than the Quakers themselves are."

It is a lamentable thing to see men of common understanding cozened by such palpable fallacies as these are; though it is not to be wondered at, that the agents of the Roman Church make the best use of them they can, since a foul cause must be beholden to such artifices as these to blanch it over.

But, I pray, might there not be such corruptions in your

Church, that we, with good reason, might pretend it necessary to forsake your communion for one that was purer; and yet there may be none in ours to give any man just cause to leave us upon that pretence? Is it impossible that it should ever be just and necessary to depart from the communion of a Church, upon the account of her corruptions, because every man that has a mouth, and can speak, may say, if he please, that he separates for greater purity, though there be no reasonable cause to say so? Or does it follow, that because our Dissenters are mistaken in believing that we have given them sufficient cause to deal by us, as we have done by you, that is, to forsake our communion for greater purity, as we have forsaken yours upon the same account; that therefore we also must needs proceed upon mistakes in so doing? What if some of them are erroneously persuaded that they ought not to submit to human orders in the performance of God's worship, if there be no particular warrant in God's word for them; may not we for all this be sure that your Church requireth men to do things which God hath particularly forbidden? And if we be sure of this, upon the plain grounds of reason and Scripture, should we be afraid to reject your communion in these things, because another sort of men are so unreasonably wilful as to reject our communion for the sake of things that are nothing like to these?

What if they, conceiving that our forms of prayer are not so edifying, that our rites and ceremonies are not so expedient, but rather unlawful, as being human inventions, what, I say, if they lay so great a stress upon these things, as to set up a communion which they fancy to be more refined and unexceptionable? May they not be to blame in all this, and yet the Church of England not liable to blame, but worthy of commendation for departing from you in your Latin service, your half communion, your praying to dead men and women, your giving divine honours to a wafer, and your other gross superstitions and idolatries?

Although our Church had not ordered her public worship so discreetly and carefully, but that in sundry things it might be reformed to good purpose, it might yet by no means be necessary for any of her members to forsake her communion; but it would on the other hand be their great fault so to do, so long as she holds forth all the necessary means of salvation, and requires nothing to be professed, or to be done, that is contrary to God's word. But yet it would be necessary to

renounce the profession of your impious errors, and to forsake you in all things wherein yourselves have departed from the plain truths of reason and Christianity, and contradicted the plain word and laws of God.

Though it may so happen that a man may do so foolishly, as to run himself upon great inconvenience in forsaking his habitation, because there is some petty disease reigning thereabouts, which is known to endanger no man's life, yet it may be wisely done by another man, to run his country when the plague is raging in every corner of it, especially if he could know that it were impossible for him to escape if he should tarry there any longer; and yet, I suppose, you will not deny but the one as well as the other may pretend that he left his dwelling for the sake of better health and more safety. But I hope you will grant that the latter pretends this like a wise man, though the other does it like a fool. The case we are upon is much-what the same. From you it was necessary to depart for the sake of greater purity, but so it is not necessary for you or others to depart from us; and yet others may take the same plea into their mouths against us, and we may not be able to help it, though we can well shew that they have no good reason for it.

And thus much for the difference of the case, with respect to separation for greater purity.

2. I proceed next to consider the difference with regard to that common question, "who shall be the judge?"

The Church of Rome arrogating to herself an infallibility in determining all questions of faith, doth, in pursuance of this claim, deny private persons the liberty of examining her definitions by the holy Scriptures, and requireth them to acquiesce therein without more ado, as there is great reason they should, if indeed they have reason to believe her infallible. The Church of England pretendeth not to infallibility; but we say that she is not deceived in those points which she propounds to be believed as necessary to salvation, nor in rejecting those other articles which the Roman Church propounds under that notion. And agreeably to this pretence she hath translated the holy Scriptures into plain English, which are the best means whereby to judge, if what she says be not true; she not only alloweth the people to read them, but exhorteth and requireth them so to do, and causeth them to be publicly read to the people in all religious assemblies. By this means she traineth up her members to an ability of judging, according to

their several capacities ; not only concerning all that she teaches them to believe, but also concerning all that she teaches them to do as their duty to God or man ; so that she does not bring them up, as the Church of Rome educates her children, to an implicit faith, and a blind obedience.

But yet the superiors of our Church do challenge a right to judge in some things for the people committed to their charge, and will not allow, that in those things they shall judge for themselves ; and they are all things that relate to public order, and which may without sin be determined one way or another, but are capable of a better or worse determination ; that is, all indifferent things. We say, that things of this nature being determined by a competent authority, ought, without farther inquiry into the reasons of such determination, to be done by all that are under that authority. As for the people's faith in God, and their obedience to him in doing what he hath commanded, and avoiding what he hath forbidden, our Church does not resolve that into her own authority, but into those very reasons upon which they that are in authority do build their own faith and obedience ; which reasons are included in the holy Scriptures. But as to her appointments and orders in all things neither enjoined by God himself, nor by him forbidden, she expecteth submission to them upon the account of her own authority ; and alloweth us not to judge of the expediency or in expediency of them, before we will conform our practice to them. All which is so to be understood, that still her authority in these things is supposed to be of God, and the duty of submitting thereunto required in the general precepts of obedience to superiors.

But if any ask, "who is to be the judge of things indifferent, as to a man's practice, whether his own conscience, or his superior?"* I answer, that as to a man's own practice, himself is to judge what things are indifferent, and which consequently come within the compass of human authority to determine. For it is plain enough, that by the same rule which sheweth us what is duty, and what is sin, we come to judge of what is indifferent. And therefore when we grant to private persons a judgment of discretion concerning sin and duty, we cannot deny them the right to judge what is neither duty nor sin, but indifferent ; which is the sum of what the author of the Case in behalf of Dissenters hath said upon that matter.†

But then how can authority pretend to abridge private persons of judging, as to their own practice, concerning indifferent things? To this I answer in the words of the same author,* where he acknowledges his adversary to have "said well to those who cannot comply with some things required in the Liturgy, and can say no more than that they think them not decent, not expedient, not orderly; for (says he) no private person is a judge of these things."* Which is an excellent saying; but so directly contrary to the main principles of his book, that I wonder how it fell from him. We are then to judge whether the things required by authority be indifferent, that is, lawful; and then to judge no farther, as to our own practice: but for the decency and expediency, and orderliness of those things, to leave our superiors to answer to God for that. Our doing them is warranted by our rule, which is to obey authority in all lawful things.

Now it is in things of this sort only, and with respect to order and decency, and prudent determination of what is most likely to edify, that our superiors pretend to judge for us what is, and what is not to be done, so as to allow us no right to judge for ourselves about them. They claim obedience to their constitutions in these things, upon the account of their authority, which, when the matter is lawful, should without more ado conclude our practice.

Indeed they judge also what faith we are to profess, what worship we are to offer up to God, and what life we are to lead, in order to our receiving the benefit of church communion; and by consequence they do take upon them to judge in our behalf, what are the articles of the Christian faith, what is the true Christian worship, and what it is to lead a Christian life. For otherwise it were impossible that the ministers of Christ should discreetly and honestly use that authority which he hath left them, to take into the Church those that are duly qualified for it, and to turn out those that are no longer fit to be continued in it. But still there is a great difference between their judging for us in those things, and in the matters afore-mentioned.

For they suppose that the articles of the Christian faith, and the commandments of God, are the same that ever they were from the beginning of the Church; and that it is not in the power of man to make any alterations in these standing

rules of Christianity, and that obedience is not due to any authority of man going about to make such alterations. From whence it follows, that private persons should be able to judge wherein true Christianity consists, as well as their superiors, that they also may offer up to God a reasonable service. To which end the Bible is put into all men's hands ; the meaning of the Scriptures is opened in our religious assemblies ; the people are trained up to understand the particulars of Christian faith and obedience, with the reasons and motives thereof, that, as we said before, they may be able to resolve their faith into the same grounds of divine authority, upon which the bishops and pastors of the Church do themselves believe. And we do unanimously acknowledge, that if this Church makes the profession of false doctrine, or the breaking of any of God's commandments, a condition of her communion ; they that upon this account separate from her communion, are before God clear of the guilt of schism in so doing. And here she makes all private persons judges for themselves, whether she doth this or not, and that by training them up in the best way she can, to be able to inform themselves in these matters.

But the case is otherwise with respect to indifferent things relating to God's worship. For though our superiors profess that they are not to meddle, in adding to, or taking from the faith and the commandments of God ; and though they appeal to private persons, that they do not in fact usurp an authority to this purpose, which they profess to disclaim ; yet in these indifferent things they claim a power to add, or diminish, or to make such expedient alterations, as they shall think fit to be made ; and this without being any way accountable to the people for their discretion in so doing, before their orders be obeyed : and we say, that whoever they are that will not be concluded by authority in these things, but upon any pretence whatsoever taken from them, do break away from the communion of the Church, they are guilty of schism in so doing. And this must be truly said, if what that author himself hath said be true, "that no private person is judge of these things."

And now I think any one may see a vast difference between the claim of the Church of Rome to be the only judge of what she imposes upon her members, and the claim of the Church of England to the same, with reference to hers ; that in the former case it is unjust and unreasonable ; but in

the latter very equal and necessary, and which no man that is not overruled by a fit of passion and prejudice, but must allow to a competent authority.

Whereas therefore we have considered the points in question between the Dissenters and ourselves, with respect to prudence, expedience, and better edification: we say withal, that this is more than we were bound to do in order to the conviction of Dissenters, that it is their duty to conform to the Liturgy and laws of the Church. And that because the authority by which they are established obligeth us to submission (if there be nothing in them to make our communion with the Church sinful), though we should be so arrogant as to think we could have ordered these matters with more discretion, if our advice had been taken. But if, setting aside the consideration of authority, we have moreover^r shewn, that upon all accounts of decency and expediency, forms of prayer are to be preferred before extemporary prayers, and that the particulars now excepted against, are so far from betraying any want of judgment in those that prescribed them, that they are indications of the great wisdom and caution wherewith they proceeded; we have not, I say, performed this, believing it necessary to prove the separation to be unjustifiable, but intending to shew thereby that it is more inexcusable. And although it was no part of our design to render those of the separation more inexcusable by this performance, yet I beseech them to take care that it happens not so in the event.

If after all, it be asked what an inferior is to do, that judgeth those things to be unlawful, which his superiors in full persuasion that they are indifferent at least, require him to do? I answer, as all men that have a sense of honesty will answer, that whilst he is persuaded that they are unlawful, he ought to forbear them. But then, as no man of understanding will deny, he is yet a sinner before God for refusing that obedience to a lawful authority, which he ought to perform; since in order to the performance of it, he might and ought to understand his duty better than he does. For as the aforementioned author says, "things indifferent, and things commanded and forbidden, are not things which we fancy, which indeed are so."* If the light of nature and the holy Scriptures are a rule of what is duty, and what is sin, they are a rule also of what is indifferent: and the same light that shews what is

necessary to be done, and what is necessary not to be done, does withal shew what is lawful to be done or to be forborne. And as an erroneous persuasion that something is lawful which God hath forbidden, will not acquit any man that hath the means of better information, from sin, in doing according to his persuasion of the lawfulness of what he does ; so neither will any man's erroneous persuasion, that his superiors require him to do what is unlawful, when the thing itself is lawful, acquit him of the guilt of disobedience in following that persuasion. In what degrees this or that man's ignorance in these things is culpable, God only knoweth for the most part, and therefore he only can judge the world in righteousness. But more or less culpable it is in all that have means of knowledge. And it concerns every one of us, as we love our own souls, to consider impartially what God hath commanded, and what he hath forbidden in his word, and consequently what he has left to our liberty ; and that because his word is a rule sufficiently plain, as to these things.

For if those to whom God hath given authority, being corrupted in their judgments by passion or any worldly interest, take those things to be lawful which God hath forbidden, and impose them upon all that are subject to their rule ; their persuasion shall not hinder their being grievous sinners against God, nor exempt them from being answerable to him for abusing their authority, and for all the pernicious consequences thereof in drawing some men into wicked practices, and in punishing others for well doing. And by like reason, if subjects, not rightly attending to the rule of their duty, are grown to a persuasion that those things are unlawful which their superiors enjoin them to do (whereas indeed they are indifferent), and thereupon refuse to do them ; this persuasion shall not acquit them before God, nor hinder them from being answerable for abusing their liberty, and for all the pernicious consequences of their disobedience, in setting a bad example, in breaking the peace of the Church, in disturbing public order, and, which very often happens, in giving occasion to the worst of men to profane the name of God, and to speak evil and blasphemous things of his holy religion. I say, ignorance will help no more in this latter case than in the former, because it is as easy for the subject to know what is indifferent, as for the ruler to know what is unlawful. These considerations, I confess, do more properly belong to the last plea of conscience ; but it was very convenient to touch upon them

here, where we have been inquiring what things they are in which authority is to overrule private judgment, and to determine the practice of inferiors; and withal, how great a difference there is between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, in answering this common question, "who shall be the judge?"

3. I come now to the last difference consequent upon the two first, respecting authority, and terms of communion, and that is, "the difference of principles upon which each side separates, as to their tendency either to maintain, or to overthrow one communion amongst Christians."

This will fall under a double consideration.

1. That of maintaining one communion amongst Christians in this kingdom.

2. That of maintaining one communion with foreign Churches. I shall begin with the first.

1. As to unity at home. The Romanist pretends, that upon the grounds of our Reformation, divisions and separations will be endless amongst us: we also pretend, that the principles of the separation from the Church of England tend to the same: but with what difference of reason on each side, it is easy to judge by what has been said already. We have reason to think there would be no end of divisions, if a competent authority, enjoining nothing but what is lawful to be done in the communion of Christians, is not to be obeyed: and certainly this may be very true, although it be false, that to submit to the authority of the Roman Church, and that too in things unlawful to be done by any Christian, or by any man, is necessary to prevent divisions. We say farther, that there can be no need of an ecclesiastical tyranny on the one hand, and a blind obedience on the other, to keep those Christians together in one communion that live within one jurisdiction; if a due use of authority in lawful superiors on the one hand, and a dutiful subjection of inferiors thereunto on the other, would do the business, as most certainly it would. But if some men will be stubborn, we cannot help that, any more than we can hinder other men from being tyrants. But we are sure it concerns both the one and the other, as much as their salvation concerns them, not to be so. And if this consideration will not keep them within bounds, and make them wise and honest, they must answer it to God one day. And in the mean time, subjects that suffer unjustly for refusing to obey the wicked command of their superiors, must bear it as patiently as they

can, and by their prayers to God, and their meek obedience to their rulers in all lawful things, endeavour to recover themselves into their good opinion. And superiors that are vexed with froward and disorderly subjects, who break Christian communion, when no just cause is given them, must do what they can to lay the truth before them; and if this be to no purpose, they must use their authority as prudently as they can, to prevent the evil example from going farther.

We are sensible what advantages the Papists make to themselves against our Reformation by the examples of Dissenters, and the Dissenters by the Papists. When the Papists have men and women of weak understandings to deal with, they tell them, that the Reformation is run out into several sects and parties, and no man can tell where separation will end: if therefore you love unity, return to the Church of Rome, where we are all of one faith and communion. The separatists, on the other side, set off their claims to an unrestrainable liberty of choosing in what communion to worship God, by shewing to their proselytes the tyranny of the Roman Church. Now we of the Church of England are as much against the tyrannical usurpations of that Church as the Dissenters, and as much for unity against causeless separation, and for obedience to lawful authority, against stubbornness, as the Romanists. And both these upon principles that consist well with one another. We say, on the one side, that a foreigner should not affect an authority over us, and that those who have the authority, ought to require nothing in the communion of Christians, but what is agreeable to God's word, and lawful to be done: and on the other side, that in such things we ought to do what is commanded, and by no means to run into a separate communion. Upon these principles we departed from Rome, and stick where we are; and I trust, that through the grace of God, we shall neither go back to Rome, nor run after the separation, there being no need either of the former to preserve unity, or of the latter to avoid tyranny.

To draw to a conclusion of this matter. The main reason of our separation from Rome, was this, that we could not continue in her communion, without doing things that God hath plainly forbidden. The reformation of our Church was at first effected by, and hath all along stood upon good and just authority: she does not only hold forth all necessary means of salvation, but she requires nothing to be done in her communion that is contrary to God's word. And therefore we

hold ourselves bound under the pain of schism to continue in her communion. Now I do not understand how upon these principles men must run into endless separations, unless it be impossible for us (whatever we pretend) to know who are our lawful governors, and to know what God hath commanded, and what he hath forbidden us to do. And I must confess, if these things be impossible to be known, it is a foolish thing for any man to trouble his conscience with cases of communion and separation. As for the Dissenters (to omit the Independents, whose Churches are in their very constitution inconsistent with submitting to a common authority in matters of worship), they have forsaken us for nothing, but because the terms of our worship, or our two or three ceremonies in it, are not commanded in God's word, and because in things left otherwise to our liberty, we are determined by the authority of our superiors : or because these things might be better ordered, and because the communion which they have taken upon them to set up in opposition to the Church of England, is purer than ours, though ours be a lawful communion. Now these principles do indeed tend to endless separations, unless these men could tell us either how we could be united in one communion, though "all of us believed it unlawful to obey a competent authority that should presume to determine any different things relating to God's worship ; or what particular communion that is from which it would be unlawful to separate even upon this principle, that there is no obligation to communion, where there is any thing possible to be mended in the outward mode of God's worship." In a word, they that separate upon just and necessary causes, as the Church of England hath done from the Church of Rome, and stop there, are not to be charged with the consequence of their practice, who separate without such causes, as the Dissenters do from our Church. And if they have proceeded farther than they are able to justify themselves by the principles of our Reformation, they must answer for it themselves.

2. The principles of our Reformation do not obstruct our communion with any true Church of Christ abroad, where there are no unlawful terms of communion. But so do the principles of the Dissenters' separation.

By the same reason that our governors determine one common order of worship and discipline for the churches over which they have authority ; the governors of other churches also may determine in these things, according to their pru-

dence, for the people subject to their authority. And we, who blame the Church of Rome for interposing her authority amongst us, with whom she has no more right to meddle than any other foreign Church has, must in all things that come within the liberty of Christians, leave other Churches that are as independent upon us as we are upon Rome, to their authority and liberty. And this is what our Church hath expressly declared: "In these our doings we condemn not other nations, nor prescribe any thing but to our own people only, for we think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living without error or superstition, and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men's ordinances it often chanceth diversely in divers countries."* In pursuance of which excellent and truly catholic declaration, I would not only communicate with foreign Churches, who differ from us in nothing but matters of form and ceremony; but if I were amongst them, I should observe their established modes and forms of worship; and though I thought our own way at home worthy upon all the accounts of order and decency and tendency to edification, to be preferred before theirs, yet I should not only conform to their way, but religiously abstain from creating any prejudices against it in the minds of Christian people in those places; and rather do all that honestly I could to bring those to a favourable opinion of it, who were prejudiced against it. This is that rule which St. Augustine thought should take place, not only in respect of those orders which were established by Synods of bishops, but in respect also of those customs which had crept into particular Churches, though it was hard to tell why or how they came in. "In things of this nature," saith he, "there is one most wholesome rule to be observed, that wherever we see any of them obtain, which are neither contrary to faith nor good manners, and have some tendency to edification, we should not only abstain from finding fault with them, but commend and practise them ourselves."† And yet he complains in this very epistle of the multitude of ceremonious observations, in which particular Churches differed from one another, and wishes that a reformation were made by authority. Thus in the foregoing Epistle,

* Preface to the Liturgy.

† Ad Januarium, Ep. 119. [Ep. 55. vol. 2. p. 141, 142. Par. 1679.]

speaking of the different observations of divers places, for instance, that some fast upon the Saturdays and some do not,* &c. and of all other things of this kind which are to be accounted indifferent: "Nothing," says he, "does more become the gravity and prudence of a Christian, than to do after the manner of that Church into which he shall happen to come." Then he relates St. Ambrose's celebrated answer to Monica about things of this sort: "When I am at Rome, I fast on the Saturday; when I am here at Milan, I do not fast. And so when thou comest into any Church, observe its customs, if thou wouldst neither give just cause of offence, nor take offence without cause." This advice St. Augustine magnified highly, and the more he thought of it, the better he liked it: "For," says he, "I have often with great sorrow considered how the minds of weak Christians have been disturbed by the quarrelsome humour and superstitious niceness of some of the brethren, who upon very slight grounds of reasoning, or being addicted to their own customs at home, or fond of what they observed abroad, raise such wrangling disputes about things that cannot be clearly determined either by the authority of holy Scripture, or the universal tradition of the Church catholic, or by the consideration of what is best for reformation of life, that they seem to reckon nothing well done, but what they do themselves." I shall add no more but that plain rule he gives elsewhere, to this purpose: "As to things in which the Scripture defines nothing certain one way or the other, the custom of the Church, and the decrees of superiors, are to be held for law."†

Now by this and much more that might be produced, we may see what the true notion of that liberty was which the ancient Church allowed in matters of indifference. Not that there was no rule in the particular churches for the ordering and regulating of things of this sort: for we find the bishops did use their authority in these things over their charges, as St. Ambrose's words to St. Augustine's mother about the fore-mentioned case, do plainly imply: "Resist not thy bishop in this matter;‡ but what he does, that do thou without any scruple or dispute:" and besides those particular customs, the variety and multitude of which St. Augustine complains of,

* Ep. 118. [Ep. 54. Ibid. p. 124.]

† Ad Casulanum, Ep. 86. [Ep. 36. Ibid. 68.]

‡ Ep. 86. [Ibid. p. 81.]

there were the "determinations of episcopal Synods"* concerning things not determined in Scripture, which he does not complain of. But their liberty consisted in this, that the rules of this sort established in the communion of any Church, were not imposed upon foreign Churches; and catholic communion was not broken upon the account of different rites and customs. For though St. Augustine was sorry to see the minds of some weak Christians troubled about questions of this kind, yet I do not find that he had any occasion given him to complain that communion was broken upon these accounts; as before his time it had been, by Pope Victor's rashness in presuming to excommunicate the Asiatic bishops, for observing Easter upon the fourteenth of March, had not Irenæus and other wise and moderate persons seasonably interposed.

To apply all this to the matter in hand: since the Church of Rome has made such things conditions of communion with her, as are in St. Augustine's phrase "contrary to faith and good manners," our separation from her upon this account, does not at all hinder us from communicating with any true Church in the world, that does not bar us out by unlawful terms of communion. For in things that God hath left at liberty, this Church presumes not to interpose her authority abroad, nor refuses the communion of those Churches whose customs and observations are different from ours, merely because they are different. Nay, let the Church of Rome herself make an end of imposing false doctrines and wicked practices, and there will be an end of our separation from her: let her give over commanding things that God hath forbidden, and making articles of faith of things that are not revealed, but are indeed contrary to sense and reason, and she may for us use her authority at home in things indifferent; and though she be guilty of great abuses even in this kind, which need a reformation, yet I for my part should not break communion with her for these things, if she would thoroughly purge herself from the other. In the mean time we are of one communion with all foreign Churches that presume not to change the faith, nor to contradict the laws of God; and this we should demonstrate by actual communion with them, if we had occasion to go abroad amongst them.

But this makes our case very different from that of the Dissenters, who separate from the Church. For so long as they withdraw from our communion for the sake of ecclesiastical

orders that are not contrary to God's word, and separate from us upon this principle, that every thing is unlawful in God's worship which is not commanded in Scripture, but enjoined by our superiors only ; they must not upon those principles have communicated with any Church in the Primitive times, when there were far more uncommanded rites and usages established for the regulating of worship, than now there are in our Church. And upon these principles they must not communicate with any Reformed Churches abroad, since how different soever the external modes of their worship may be from ours, yet some they all have, and that consisting of rules not determined by God's word, but by the law or custom of man. To New England they must not go, hoping to find a communion there lawful to be embraced upon these principles. The Nonconformists to our Liturgy and discipline that are there, will stand to their own orders concerning worship and discipline, and will make out by their Church-authority, such as it is, what they cannot shew chapter and verse for. Our separatists, if they go thither, shall find no other use of their liberty allowed there, but conformity and compliance with that way of worship and government which there obtains. It is a plain case, that they who separate from our Church upon the account of uncommanded rites and practices in God's worship, are something more obliged by this principle to avoid communion with all foreign Churches ; if rules for customs concerning things indifferent are to be found amongst them all, as most certainly such rules, more or fewer, all of them have : for in the former case our separatists are disobedient to their proper governors and pastors, whose authority over them is more clear and indisputable than that of the governors of other Churches, where they might happen to go. And therefore if they will not in things of this nature be determined by an authority at home, there is less reason to believe their consciences will suffer them to be determined therein by one abroad. I conclude, therefore, that though our Reformation leaves us free to communicate with all Churches abroad, that do not require sinful terms of communion, as the Church of Rome does ; yet the separation of the Dissenters from us, proceeds upon grounds destructive of communion with any Church in the world.

Indeed, I believe most of our Dissenters would communicate with several Reformed Churches abroad, but in so doing, they must depart from the principles upon which they separate at home ; unless they can find a Reformed Church which exer-

ciseth no authority in forms of prayer, nor in any indifferent things for the external regulation of public worship. But where such a Church is to be found, I am yet to be informed.

And thus much concerning those differences of the case, that are consequent upon the difference in point of authority and of terms of communion.

3. I come now to consider the last plea I propounded, which I confessed was not only common to both sides, but which also may be as truly alleged on the one side, as on the other; and that is the plea of conscience.

The Dissenters say, that they separate from us, being persuaded that they ought so to do. And I must needs say, that some degree of integrity is implied in this plea, if honestly it be made; and such a degree it is, as without which no man can be an honest man. And therefore, instead of going about to make it questionable whether indeed it be out of conscience that they generally separate from us; I shall here admit it, adding only, that it stands every one of them in hand, to be as sure as they can be, that there is this reason at least for their separation from us. And I hope none of them will take this admonition in ill part, since I charge myself, and desire all the people of our own communion, to be careful that we be fully persuaded in our own minds, that in duty to God we are bound to separate even from the Church of Rome; and that we do not either choose one communion, or refuse another, for carnal and worldly interest. For we say the very same thing, *viz.* that in conscience we are persuaded, that to forsake the communion of the Church of Rome, and of every Church in her communion, as the terms of her communion now stand, is a necessary duty. But then if we had no more to say for ourselves than this comes to, we should make but a very weak apology for our separation from the Roman Church, and have some reason to be ashamed of it.

For, to deal plainly, this is no more than what a Turk or a Jew may say, for refusing to become a Christian, and no more than what we may truly say too: that is, that his conscience will not let him be a Christian, since he is verily persuaded that Christianity is not from God, so far as it is contrary to the religion by him professed. Now this, if it be truly said, shall make him a more honest Turk or Jew, than another that is in his conscience convinced of the truth, which with his mouth he denies, yet it shall not make that which he professes to be more true in his mouth, than it is in the mouth of a hypocrite.

And I suppose no Christian will say that his pretence of conscience, though it be not mere pretence, will acquit him of sin in rejecting the Gospel of Christ when it is offered to him with reasonable evidence. From whence I think it follows, that the misinformation of his conscience, or his erroneous persuasion, is his sin. And therefore though it be true, that we do separate from the Roman communion out of conscience, yet whether we do well upon the whole matter in this, or not, must be judged of by those reasons upon which we are persuaded that so we ought to do, and not merely by our persuasion itself. For otherwise we should lay down a principle that would vindicate a man in the greatest errors that can be professed, and justify him in the most wicked things that can be done, under an erroneous persuasion that those are not errors, and that these are not wicked things.

Wherefore I beseech all those that forsake the communion of the Church of England, upon a general and loose persuasion, of which they are able to give little or no particular account, that they do well in forsaking us, and that they should sin in communicating with us: I beseech them, I say, to lay this to heart, and a most evident truth it is, that if their persuasion be erroneous, they are, notwithstanding their persuasion, guilty of schism: and withal, that if they are persuaded this is no great matter, as I plainly perceive they are for the most part, yet if schism be a very great and aggravated sin, neither will their ignorance acquit them of guilt proportionable to the heinous nature of the sin. For my part, I should not envy their safety, could I believe they had reason to be secure upon giving this account of their separation, and that honestly too, that they are satisfied in conscience about it; and there is an end. But I have reason to warn them of the danger of such presumption, since many of the Jews and heathens that delivered up the servants of Christ to be killed for their profession, were doubtless satisfied in conscience, that they did God service in so doing. And for ought I know, some that have served the ends of the bloody Church of Rome, may have been so persuaded too. But do you think that God will give them thanks for what they did, because of their good meaning? And if you do not think so, you have no reason to conclude that you shall be acquitted from your separation, if a sin it be, and a great one too, merely because you do not believe it to be a matter of any great consequence, or indeed any fault at all, but rather a duty.

I do not know to what purpose divine truth is made known

to us by nature and by Scripture, and the laws of God are written upon our hearts, and these and more laws besides written in the Gospel, if we might yet be safely ignorant of our duty as we are men, or as we are Christians, and of that truth which is necessary to the performance of that duty. To what end hath God made known his will, and given us the means of knowing it, and a reasonable nature to make us capable of using those means, if ignorance might still be pleaded in our justification? For my part, I cannot tell, and let him that cannot, look to it, that no prejudice or passion, nor laziness, nor worldly interest, lie at the bottom of his heart, either to hinder his searching, or if he searches, to hinder his finding out that divine truth which is the rule of his duty. I say this the rather, because nobody will deny that it is well said. But it fares with this as it does with many other good sayings, it is still by all acknowledged to be good, but it is by few well applied. But thus far at least I may desire those of the separation to apply it to themselves, that if they unnecessarily divide themselves from the communion of this Church, the persuasion of their conscience that they are bound to divide from us, will by no means bring them off in so doing from the condemnation that belongs to that sin.

To break the communion of Christians is quite contrary to the ordinance and institution of Christ, who made his Church one body; and the consequences of it are very destructive of all the great ends of Christianity, and in such cases the blame is very great wherever it lies; and I will be bold to say, it could not be very great, if it were hard for an honest and unprejudiced mind to find what ought, and what ought not to be done to maintain unity of communion amongst Christians. And therefore it concerns every man, as he tenders the salvation of his soul, to look to it, that the cause of his separation be just. For this is one of those cases wherein a mere persuasion of conscience will not secure a man acting according to it from sinning against God. And from hence it is evident that this plea, "that we cannot in conscience hold communion with the Church of Rome," may in our mouths be a very good plea against the Papists, as without question it is, if our consciences are rightly informed as to the points controverted between them and us; but the same plea in the mouths of the Dissenters against the Church of England may not be good, as most certainly it is not, if they are persuaded that our Church hath given them just cause for their separation, when

there is indeed no such matter : and therefore we may at least hope, that they will all of them now seriously apply themselves to consider the merits of the cause between them and us, which they are now in an especial manner bound to do, since the charity of the ministers of this city hath made the doing of it easy to all persons that will be at the pains to judge for themselves, and that by bringing down the particular questions in controversy between them and us to the capacity of ordinary Christians. And if they will not use this opportunity that is given them to consider these things, they will have the more to answer to God, and they most of all that dissuade them from it.

To conclude this point: whereas the Papists declaim against our separation from them under pretence of conscience, as if this had shewn the way to all sorts of sectaries to separate from us upon the same pretence; we hope that all persons, who are not willing to be deceived, will be able to distinguish between a misguided conscience on the one hand, and a well-informed conscience on the other, and then proceed to examine the reasons of our separation whether they be not just and necessary: and if they find them so to be, that they will acquit us from all their blame who separate without such reasons. For it is very foolish and unjust not to allow the pretence of conscience to be good in any case, because it is not so in all cases. Surely if one man's conscience tell him that he may and ought to rebel, while himself does not believe that it is rebellion he is going about; this hinders not, but another man may lawfully and justly pretend conscience for his loyalty and duty to the government. And though in some places of the world there are sovereign princes who extend their authority for the maintaining of damnable errors and the suppressing of God's holy truth, and all the while believe that they use their power as they ought to do; yet this shall not hinder but that princes who believe and profess the true religion, and withal protect and encourage it with their authority as much as they can, being fully persuaded that so they ought to do, that they, I say, shall for this receive God's thanks and rewards, while the former shall go without them. In like manner conscience may be pretended for disobeying the just laws of authority which God hath set in the world and in the Church; but this shall not hinder his plea from being good, who pretends conscience for refusing to commit idolatry, though all the powers under heaven should require him so

to do. Men may by mistake think they do God good service in murdering his servants; for this has been done by you of the Church of Rome. And if in such plain cases as these your understandings have been so foully corrupted, it is not so greatly to be wondered at that the judgments of other men are so perverted by interest and passion as to believe themselves countermanded by God in things required by their superiors; but in which it would not be their sin, but a performance of their duty to obey. And yet I hope this answer, "whether it be better to obey God or man, judge ye," was once truly and pertinently made, and may be so again. And so much for the difference of the case with respect to conscience, which was the last thing to be considered.

And now I know that all this will signify very little to any man that brings not an honest mind with him to consider it, or who had rather take his opinions in these things upon trust than be at the pains to judge for himself. But why should a man disparage himself so much as not to use that understanding which God hath given him in matters that concern his salvation? Why should he be such an enemy to himself as not to let go a dangerous mistake, when he may enjoy the truth instead of it, if he will use reasonable diligence to consider what is said on both sides? Give me leave to put you in mind of your duty in this case in the words of an ancient Christian writer: "In all matters of practice and duty it concerns every man to use his own judgment and discretion in searching for truth, and in weighing what is fit to be done, rather than to be betrayed into error and sin by such a credulous reliance upon others, as if himself had not the reason of a man, and were incapable of consideration. God has given to every man his share of wit both to find out some things by himself, and to weigh those which he hears from others. It is natural to all men to love wisdom, and to desire the knowledge of the truth. And they make fools of themselves who, without discretion, take the words of their leaders for all that they say, and follow them more like beasts than like reasonable creatures;"* which words are not so to be taken as if it were dishonourable or dangerous to any man to make use of the help of others in learning the truth: for this were to destroy the use of the ministry in the Church of

* Lactant. lib. 2. De Origine Erroris. sect. 7. [Cap. 8. vol. 1. p. 102. Wiroeb. 1783.]

Christ, and to take away the benefit of mutual endeavours to lead one another into a right understanding of our duty. But for all this, it may be a very foolish and unmanly part, and it may betray us into very dangerous errors not to use our own judgment at all in matters of sin and duty, and in opinions leading to the one or the other; but instead thereof to rely altogether upon their authority whom we have taken for our guides. This is what we say both to the people of the Popish and of the Dissenting party; that if they would apply themselves with ordinary diligence, and with a sincere mind, to find out the truth in these cases, they would not meet with any great difficulty to perplex them in the way; especially if they whose authority they very much rely upon would speak as plainly and clearly to the points in question as without vanity, I may say, we have hitherto done.

We do not desire them to stop their ears against those whom they follow at present: all that we beg of them is, that they would not take every thing upon trust that others tell them in these matters, but hear what we also have to offer to them, and not only hear but consider and weigh it with the best judgment they have. And let me say this to all those whom I now speak of, whether Papists or Dissenters, that if you set yourselves with a sincere desire of being rightly informed, to compare our reasons with them whom hitherto you have trusted, some advantage you will gain by it, whatever the success be. For if the truth be not on our side, you will in all likelihood get this benefit by it, to be confirmed in your own way upon better grounds than you had before. But if it be, it is then to be hoped that, through the grace of God, you will discern it and entertain it, for which blessing you and we shall have great reason to yield our hearty thanks and praises to the Father of lights, who giveth wisdom to them that ask him. But if you should be so unhappily prejudiced on the wrong side as to miss this benefit, yet let me tell you it will turn to some good account for you at last that you took pains to be better informed; and that you were not altogether wanting to yourselves to come to a right understanding of your duty in these particulars, by disposing yourselves to impartiality, and by reading, and meditating, and praying in all this for the illumination of God's Holy Spirit.

And now, I trust, there is little need to tell you, that if your leaders discourage you from taking this pains, it may justly make you suspect that your cause will not bear the trial.

If they would keep up your confidence by their own, and all the while divert you from comparing one thing with another, and from trying what is said on both sides, you have sufficient cause to question either their honesty or their understanding. And the more unwilling they are that you should examine what we and they say, the more reason do they give you to resolve that you will do so.

I have shewn how greatly different the case of the true English Protestant is from that of the Papist on the one hand, and that of the Separatist on the other. And though the difference be so very notorious as it is, yet we know the Popish priests have represented our Reformation under such colours as to make it look like fanaticism, and the Dissenters are made to believe on the other hand that our Reformation is but a better sort of Popery. And some little popular things are said on both sides to make these pretences look like truth. But now I have brought these colours into the light; and if you will but take upon yourselves to use your own eyes, you may, I think, easily discern that you have been all this while abused; at least, I have given you reason enough to make farther inquiries, and to consider more particular questions. But if, upon reading this general discourse, you should resolve to keep where you are, and to trouble yourselves no farther, I am confident the true reason thereof must be this, that you are afraid to proceed lest you should be convinced; and this is nothing less than wilfully to bar your minds against the knowledge of the truth. For though I have no conceit of this performance, as if I had done any great matter in it, yet I am conscious to myself that I intended honestly all along; and I am sure I have written plainly, and have laid some things together that may give just occasion to any well-meaning Papist or Sectary to question the safety of the way he is in at present, especially if he has never troubled himself to consider these things before.

And now I do heartily desire you all, for I cannot desire this too often or too earnestly, that you would take the word of God for your rule, and propound the rewards of another life for your end, and set the fear of God before your eyes whilst you consider and examine these things. It is our concern for the safety of your souls, as well as for the welfare of this poor Church, so distressed with adversaries on both sides, that putteth us forward upon all occasions to lay these things before you. Do not therefore read these books, which are

indeed published for your sakes, as if they were written against you. There is not one of us, I am confident, but is troubled to see you expose yourselves to the penalties of the laws of the land that are against you ; but we are more sorry to consider, that at the same time you do also incur the high displeasure of God ; we would fain have you avoid both the one and the other. And if you would hearken to us, the worst you would get by it is to live with less disturbance in this world ; but whether that should prove true or not, you would walk in a more safe and plain way to heaven than that which any of you are in at present. And I hope you will not grudge that good which this Church should receive by your return to us, when you would do yourselves so much more by it.

If therefore you think our importunity troublesome, pray remember what it is that makes us importunate ; and let no misconstruction of the design of your friends render their honest endeavours ineffectual to your conviction. We would have you understand the truth, and do your duty ; and as this end is charitable, so you must needs grant those means to be charitable also, by which we are contributing towards it. It is indeed our concern that these means should take place ; but it is yours something more, if you are under great and dangerous mistakes, as I am persuaded you are. But if you should be so prejudiced against us, as to think that we write these controversies more in concern for the temporal interests of this Church than for your spiritual good ; pray will you make this profitable use of that hard thought, as to excel us in this matter, by being more careful not to mix any carnal and worldly affection with your judgment in reading these things, than you imagine us to be in writing of them. Be as strict as you will in examining what we say in behalf of our Church, only be willing that truth should overcome ; and consider, that if that prevails against your errors, you indeed are the conquerors, and that the greatest gain will be yours, both in this world, and the world to come.

I have no mind to prejudge which party it is that we may hope to win more of to the truth than of the other, being very willing to believe that there is no cause of despairing to do good on either side.

As for the Dissenters, methinks it should not be hard to dissuade most of them from breaking the communion of that Church any longer, with which they agree in the substance of

faith and worship, and from differing with authority for the future about things indifferent. The cause of the separation, as it is managed by themselves, is so very slight, that one would hope they should be of themselves something afraid to venture their being schismatics upon it, and consequently that they should be ready to consider what has been said to shew that there is indeed no just cause given them to separate from our Church; and that there is no reason to call any thing Popery which they dislike in our communion, as some of them have done, to the great disadvantage of the Protestant religion; since as much as in them lay, they have made the world believe that the cause of Popery is better than it is; and that it doth not consist only of opinions and practices that cannot be defended, but of some also that may. And it is not the least kindness that the indiscreet zeal of some Protestants hath done to the Church of Rome, that they have inveighed against some things, which may be easily justified, as if they also were Popish corruptions. And the learned men of that Church have not been behind-hand in making use of this advantage, and that by straining their utmost wit to represent the Protestant religion under such colours, as if it stood in opposition to episcopacy and liturgy, and to all ecclesiastical canons and constitutions. And I am persuaded the Dissenters cannot do the Protestant religion a greater kindness than by forbearing to give them this occasion for the future. For let a cause be never so good in itself, it is never likely to thrive in their hands, who, instead of pressing their adversaries with what they can never maintain, are still forward to deny what they are well able to prove.

As for the Papists amongst us, their mistakes in faith and worship are so gross and foul, that if they would give themselves a little time to consider what has been and what may farther be said to convince them, I do not doubt but all of them that are endued with a competent understanding and an honest sense of things, would soon feel those palpable errors, into the belief and practice of which they have been hitherto deluded, by an unreasonable deference to the authority of the Church of Rome, and no longer stand off from the communion of the Church of England. The bigger any fault is, one would think it should be more easily spied. Now these men separate from us, merely because we have abandoned those wicked doctrines and practices, which are of themselves a most necessary cause of separation from any church in the

world that should impose them : and therefore they of all men are the most notorious schismatics that can be imagined. And I beseech God to open their eyes to see it, and to recover into the "way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived;" that those who have hitherto been obstinate may "prove all things;"* and that those who can be persuaded to consider these things may "hold fast that which is good."

"And the God of patience and consolation grant you to be like-minded one toward another, according to Christ Jesus.

"That ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."† Amen.

* 1 Thessalonians v. 21.

† Romans xv. 5, 6.

EXAMINATION OF THE DOCTRINES
CONTAINED IN THE
NEW CREED OF POPE PIUS IV.

THE CREED OF POPE PIUS IV.

OR A

PROSPECT OF POPEERY TAKEN FROM THAT AUTHENTIC RECORD.

With short Notes.

THE words “representing” and “misrepresenting” have of late made a great noise among us; some gentlemen of the Roman communion having made it their business to persuade the world that we, of the Church of England, have entertained a very strange and false idea of their religion, and, according to our own notions of it, represented it as theirs, which, they tell us, is downright misrepresenting. It is not my design to engage in this controversy, it hath been sufficiently done by other hands, and so sufficiently, that the Answerer, in his Answer to the Amicable Accommodation, I think, had good reason to say, that the matter was drove as far as it would bear. Nor is it my intent to justify everything, which, in heat of discourse or disputation, hath been charged upon that Church by some of our own men; for though perhaps they have said no more than what they have warrant for from some eminent schoolmen or casuists of that Church, yet I do not think it reasonable that the particular opinions of private men, though never so eminent in their way, should be charged upon the whole society of which they are members, unless they have been owned by some public and authentic act of that society. Being unwilling, therefore, to run myself upon that rock, I have steered another course, and have made choice of one of the most solemn, public, and authentic acts of their Church, *viz.* the bull of Pope Pius IV., printed with the Acts of the

Council of Trent, and shall charge nothing upon them, but what is owned and contained therein. This bull was dated at Rome in the year of our Lord 1564, in the ides of November, and the fifth year of his pontificate. In this bull a form of faith is drawn up, extracted out of the Council of Trent, which every one who enters into holy orders, is bound by oath not only to believe, but to maintain and defend, and teach the people under their charge, and that under pain of the displeasure of Almighty God, and of his holy Apostles Peter and Paul. And if we may not take this for the standard of their faith and religion, I must confess I do not know where to find it. But I do not know that this ever was, nor do I think it will now be disowned by them; and therefore from hence you may take a prospect of their religion, and see what it is that will be required of those who join in communion with them.

THE CREED.

Article I. *I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.*

II. *And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made.*

III. *Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man.*

IV. *And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered and was buried.*

V. *And the third day rose again according to the Scriptures.*

VI. *And ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father.*

VII. *And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead, whose kingdom shall have no end.*

VIII. *And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets.*

IX. *And I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church.*

X. *I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins.*

XI. *And I look for the resurrection of the dead.*

XII. *And the life of the world to come. Amen.*

Thus far his Holiness thought fit to hold a good correspondence with primitive Christianity, and thus far we can keep pace with him: all these Articles we willingly receive, and firmly believe, because we have good warrant from the holy Scriptures so to do. But if the Church of Rome, or any other Church, shall presume to decree anything against the written word of God, or besides the same, and impose it as a new article of faith, necessary to be believed in order to our salvation, we must beg their pardon, if we cannot so readily comply with them. For as we believe that Jesus Christ is the author, so we believe he is the finisher of our faith: and as he perfectly knew the whole mind and will of his Father, so did he carefully communicate the same to his apostles and disciples; "For," saith he, "all things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you," John xv. 15. And as we believe that the Apostles were instructed and commissioned by him to preach that faith which they received from him; so we have no reason to doubt, but that they did faithfully transmit the same to their successors the primitive fathers of the Christian Church; nor need we to question but that the same faith hath been carefully conveyed to us, both as it lies dispersed in the holy Scriptures, and as it is summed up in those three ancient Creeds, *viz.* the Nicene, the Athanasian, and that commonly called the Apostles' Creed. Whatsoever therefore we do not find in these Creeds, nor contained in holy Scriptures, nor can be proved thereby, we dare not receive it as an article of faith, nor can we think it necessary to salvation. And here we are left behind, not being able any farther to keep pace with the Church of Rome; but we may comfort ourselves in this, that we are left in good company, having Jesus Christ and his Apostles, and the primitive fathers with us. Here therefore let us take up our stand, and from hence take a view of Popery in the following Articles.

Continuation of their Creed.

Article XIII. *I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observations and constitutions of the same Church.*

Notes upon it.

Ecclesiastical traditions are to be received with equal veneration as the holy Scripture. *Sess. 4. Concil. Trid. Decr. de Canon. Script.—pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia, &c.*

XIV. *I do admit the holy Scriptures in the same sense that holy mother Church doth, whose business it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of them; and I will interpret them according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.*

XV. *I do profess and believe that there are seven sacraments of the new law truly and properly so called, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary to the salvation of mankind, though not all of them to every one, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage; and that they do confer grace; and that of these, Baptism, Confirmation and Orders, may not be repeated without sacrilege. I do also receive and admit the received and approved rights of the Catholic Church in her solemn administration of the above-said sacraments.*

XVI. *I do embrace and receive all and every thing that hath been defined and de-*

By the holy mother Church you must be sure to understand the Church of Rome; and if the Scriptures do not speak according to her sense, you must by no means admit of them.

You must by no means ask questions here, as, in what part of the New Testament may I find that Christ did institute these seven sacraments? Or, where may I meet with the promise annexed, by virtue of which they do confer grace? Or, where and when did our Lord make all these necessary to salvation? These are idle and frivolous questions; you must believe as the Catholic Church believes, and do as she doth; but by Catholic Church you must be sure always to understand the Roman Church, though, in so doing, you believe a part to be the whole.

Though St. Paul call concupiscence sin, yet you must not do so. *Decret. de Peccat. Origin. Sess. 5. Conc. Trid.* Though Christ tell you, that when

clared by the holy Council of Trent concerning original sin and justification.

you have done all that is commanded, still you are unprofitable servants, you have done no more than your duty. Yet, if you will be a true Catholic, you must believe that the good works of justified persons do truly merit increase of grace here, and eternal life hereafter. *Sess. 6. Can. 32.*

XVII. *I do also profess, that in the mass there is offered unto God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is a conversion made of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood; which conversion the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation.*

to be really bread still, do you think it is fit for you to believe so, when the Church hath told you the contrary. Have a care, this is a dangerous point. If you will be a true Catholic, you must resolve to renounce all the evidence of sense and reason in this matter, and to live by an implicit faith.

XVIII. *I confess, that under one kind only, whole and entire Christ, and a true sa-*

Though Christ, by being once offered, hath put away sin by the sacrifice of himself, and therefore need not to be offered again, Heb. ix. yet you must believe that he is daily offered, and, it may be, in ten thousand places at once, a true, proper, propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. And why should you not believe so, seeing the Catholic (*i. e.* the Roman Catholic) Church hath defined and declared it to be so? If you say that you find nothing for it, but much against it in holy Scripture, this is to appeal from the judgment of the Church to your own, which by no means must be allowed. But how do you know that there is anything in Scripture against it? You will tell me you see and read it there. But do you think it is fit for you to trust your own eyes against so plain a declaration of the Church? Because you see, and feel and taste, and thereupon judge a consecrated host

Though Christ left you a whole sacrament, yet you must be content with half an one; though Christ, after his supper, instituted and ad-

crament, is taken and received. ministered this venerable sacrament under both kinds of bread and wine; though in the Primitive Church this sacrament was received by the faithful in both kinds; yet all this notwithstanding, you must now rest satisfied with half of it, and that for divers good causes and considerations; as to instance, lest you spill the wine upon your beards, &c. And will you still stick to the institution of Christ against such a declaration of the Church? Have a care, there is an anathema provided for you, and the censure and punishment of heretics will fall to your share. *Concil. Constant. Sess. 13. Concil. Trid. Sess. 13. Can. 3.*

XIX. I do firmly believe that there is a purgatory, and that the souls kept prisoners there do receive help by the suffrages of the faithful. Though in holy Scripture there be no mention made of any other place after this life, but either heaven or hell; yet holy Church tells you there is another called purgatory, and why should you not believe her? Though Christ tell you, that when you have done all that is commanded, you are still unprofitable servants, having done no more but what was your duty to do; yet why should not you believe as the Church believes, that some men may do more than their duties, and by an over-measure of merits help others?

XX. I do likewise believe, that the saints reigning together with Christ, are to be worshipped and prayed unto, and that they do offer prayers unto God for us, and that their relics are to be had in veneration. Though you be nowhere commanded to pray to any other but only God, though there be but one Mediator between God and man, viz. Christ Jesus; yet why should you deprive yourselves of the benefit of such powerful mediators as the saints in heaven may be, when the Church teacheth you to make use of them?

XXI. I do most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, of the blessed Virgin the Mother of God, and of other saints, ought to be had and retained, Though, by the second commandment, you are forbidden to make to yourselves any graven images, or to bow down to them, or worship them; yet this notwithstanding, why should not you comply with the doctrine and practice of the Church, in making to

and that due honour and veneration ought to be given to them.

yourselves graven images, bowing down to them, and in praying, lighting candles, and burning incense before them?

XXII. *I do affirm, that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is very beneficial to Christian people.*

Though your sins be great and heinous, yet if for a sum of money you can procure a pardon; if the price be set, and nothing wanting but to pay the money with one hand, and receive the indulgence with the other, (*vid. Tax. Camer. Apostol.*) why then should you not comply with the doc-

trine of indulgences, which is so comfortable in itself, and so advantageous unto you?

XXIII. *I do acknowledge the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church to be the mother and mistress of all Churches; and I do promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter the Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.*

If you can believe that a part is the whole, why should you not believe the Church of Rome to be the Catholic Church? If you can believe that the Church of Jerusalem, and all other Churches in all parts of the world, received their religion from her, why should you not believe that she is the mother of all other Churches? If you can believe that any one Church in the world hath a sovereign power and authority over all other Churches; why should you not believe

the Church of Rome hath, and consequently is mistress of all other Churches? If you can believe, that among equals there is any superiority, why should you not believe that St. Peter was prince of the Apostles? and consequently, that the Bishop of Rome, as his successor, is bishop of bishops, and prince of all pastors? If you can believe that Jesus Christ did constitute and ordain any particular person upon earth to be his vicar-general in his absence; why should you not believe that the Bishop of Rome, for the time being, is the man? But if you can believe none of these things I cannot help it.

XXIV. *I do undoubtedly receive and profess all other things which have been delivered, defined, and*

If you can believe that all and every thing, which at any time hath been delivered, defined, and declared, by any General Council, especially by that of Trent; doth exactly agree

declared, by the sacred canons and œcumenical Councils, and especially by the holy Synod of Trent; and all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I do likewise condemn, reject, and anathematize.

with the canon of holy Scripture: or, if you can believe that all and everything, which at any time hath been condemned, rejected, and anathematized by such Councils is really heresy, and justly condemned by them; then why may you not believe as the Church of Rome doth, and receive this as an article of faith? But if you cannot believe these things, who can help it?

Thus have I given you a prospect of Popery without any misrepresentation or prevarication, from a very authentic record, viz. the Creed of Pope Pius IV. which is received, professed, and sworn to by every one who enters into holy orders in that Church; and in the close thereof we are told, that the faith contained therein is so absolutely and indispensably necessary, that no man can be saved without it. The Creed itself, you see, contains twenty-four Articles. The twelve first of which we firmly believe and readily embrace, being well assured that they contain nothing in them but primitive Christianity, and that they are well warranted by the word of God. The twelve latter we reject as innovations and additions to the catholic faith; that faith which was once delivered to the saints, and which hath been delivered down to us in the holy Scriptures and the three ancient Creeds. In these you have the main body of Popery as it stands distinguished from primitive Christianity; the novelty and unwarrantableness whereof it were no hard matter to demonstrate; but that hath been done already by better hands, and was no part of my design in these papers. I intended only to give you a full view of Popery from an unexceptionable record, and leave you to consider of it. And having thus done, I have only this request to make, that those into whose hands these papers shall come would sit down and seriously consider whether it be fit or safe for them to mingle such stuff with their common Christianity.

A BRIEF EXAMINATION
OF
THE PRESENT ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH;
CONTAINED IN
POPE PIUS'S NEW CREED,

The Scriptures, ancient Fathers, and their own modern Writers, in answer to a Letter, desiring satisfaction concerning the Visibility of the Protestant Church and Religion in all ages, especially before Luther's time.

POPE PIUS'S CREED, OR THE PROFESSION OF THE ROMAN
CATHOLIC FAITH.

“THAT the profession of one and the same faith* may be uniformly exhibited to all, and its certain form may be known to all; we have caused it to be published, strictly commanding that the profession of faith be made after this form, and no other. I, N. do, with firm faith, believe and profess all and singular things contained in the Creeds (to wit, Nicene, &c.) which the Roman Church useth; namely, I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, &c. The apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions, and other observances and constitutions of that Church, I firmly admit and embrace.—I do also confess, that there be truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, Extreme Unction, Orders, Marriage, &c., and that they confer grace. All things which, concerning original sin and justification, were defined in the fourth Council of Trent, I embrace and receive. Also, I confess, that in the mass is offered to God a true, proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead; and that in the

* V. Bullam Pii IV. super forma professionis fidei sub finem Concilii Tridentini.

holy eucharist is truly, really and substantially the body and blood of our Lord, and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into his body, and of the wine into his blood; which conversion the Catholic Church calleth transubstantiation. I confes also, that under one kind only all and whole Christ, and the true sacrament is received. I do constantly hold there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained there are helped by the suffrages of the faithful. And likewise, that the saints, reigning with Christ, are to be worshipped and prayed to — and that their relics are to be worshipped. And most firmly I avouch, that the images of Christ, and the mother of God, and other saints, are to be had and retained, and that to them due honour and veneration is to be given. Also, that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church; and I affirm the use thereof to be most wholesome to Christ's people. That the holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church is the mother and mistress of all Churches. I acknowledge, and I vow and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter the prince of the Apostles, and the vicar of Jesus Christ. And all other things likewise do I undoubtingly receive and confess, which are delivered, defined and declared by the sacred Canons and General Councils; and especially the holy Council of Trent. And withal, I condemn and accurse all things that are contrary hereunto, — and that I will be careful that this true catholic faith, out of which no man can be saved, which at this time I willingly profess, be constantly (with God's help) retained and confessed whole and inviolate to the last gasp, and by those that are under me — holden, taught and preached to the uttermost of my power, I the said N. promise, vow and swear. So help me God, and his holy Gospels."

A Brief Examination of the present Roman Catholic Faith, &c.

SIR,

I received your letter, wherein you desire I would give you satisfaction concerning the visibility of the Protestant religion and Church in the ages before Luther. In order thereunto, I send you these lines, requesting you, as you love and value the safety of your own soul, laying aside the blind belief of the Roman infallibility (which renders all discoursing or writing vain and unprofitable), to read them seriously and impartially.

You begin thus: "I find your divines asserting, that the Church hath been hidden and invisible."*

To which I answer; that the Church hath been for some time hidden, *i. e.* obscured; so that it was not conspicuous or easily discernible by all Christians, much less heathens, is a truth so manifest, that our adversaries themselves grant it; as I shall shew afterward. That the catholic Church was ever wholly rooted out by heresy or persecution; or that in any age all outward profession of the truth, though sometimes more secret and private, was wholly hidden and utterly invisible in the eyes of all men, we affirm not. Cardinal Bellarmine† himself notes, that many of his Church have taken much needless pains in proving against us the perpetuity and indefectibility of the Church, which, as he confesses, we never denied: we only say, that any particular Church, even that of Rome, may utterly fail. But you add, "I find your divines saying otherwise, for Bishop Jewel, *Apol.* p. 7, writeth, that Luther's preaching was the very first appearing of the Gospel." And page 8: "That forty years and upward, *i. e.* at the first setting forth of Luther and Zuinglius, the truth was unknown and unheard of; and that they came first to the knowledge and preaching of the Gospel." Let Bishop Jewel answer for himself. *Defence of the Apol.* page 82: "Ye say, we confess our Church began only about forty years since. No, Mr. Harding, we confess it not, and you yourself well know we confess it not. Our doctrine is the old, and yours is the new. We say our doctrine, and the order of our churches, is older than yours by five hundred years." And he not only saith it, but unanswerably proves it by the testimonies of the ancient Fathers. Hence that book is appointed to be had in all our churches; so great a respect have we for primitive antiquity, and so far are we from imagining the Gospel or the truth we profess to be no older than Luther or Zuinglius. But Mr. White,‡ in his *Defence of the Way of the Church*, saith, Popery was such a leprosy, spreading so universally over the Church, that there was no visible company of people appearing to the world (*viz.* in the ages next before Luther) free from it.*

* I. How Protestant writers are to be understood, when they argue against the perpetual visibility of the Church.

† Multi ex nostris tempus terunt, dum probant ecclesiam non posse absolute deficere; nam [Calvinus et cæteri] hæretici id concedunt. *Eccles. Militan. lib. 3. cap. 13.*

‡ *Pag. 355, 356.*

True, he saith so, but he explains his meaning in the same place; for he acknowledgeth the Churches of Greece, Ethiopia, Armenia, to have been and still to be true visible Christian Churches; yea, that the Church of Rome is a part of the visible Church of God, wherein our ancestors possessed the true faith, as to the fundamental articles necessary to salvation, and were some of them saved: so that he acknowledgeth in some sense, the visibility of the Church, even Roman; which Protestants deny not; who grant that the true Church was in or under the Papacy,* although the Papacy was not that Church. Neither is there any contradiction in this, for a leper is a true man, and as truly visible as one that is clean. Leprosy is not a distinct body, but a disease cleaving to it. In like manner, Popery is not of itself a distinct Church, but a corrupt humour in latter ages predominant in the true visible Church of God. Nevertheless, he denies, first, the Papacy, i. e. the errors and corruptions in doctrine and worship introduced of late by the Popes and their adherents, to be any part of the true ancient Christian catholic faith, by which our ancestors were saved, any more than leprosy is any part of a man. Secondly, he denieth that there is always, and at all times, in this true visible Church, a visible company or state of people actually and personally divided from the rest, that profess the true faith, perform religious worship, and exercise church discipline in open and conspicuous manner, wholly free from the corruptions and abuses of such as have defiled the Church. For it is one thing to be a true visible Church, another to be free from all such errors and corruptions, as may, being wilfully persisted in, endanger men's salvation, and therefore need reformation. The Church of the Jews was the true, yea, the only true Church of God; yet in the time of Elijah, and after in our Saviour's days, they were generally ten tribes of twelve overrun with idolatry and superstition. The like we say of the Church of Rome in the ages next before Luther, when not only gross ignorance, but many palpable errors and corruptions in doctrine, worship, and government, did visibly appear, which many eminent professors (sufficient, as a Jesuit confesseth,† to prove the

* *Ecclesia vera erat in Papatu, sed Papatus non erat vera Ecclesia. Alij cautius Papatum dixerunt fuisse in Ecclesia, non Ecclesiam in Papatu. Prideaux Lect. de Visibil. Eccl. p. 136.*

† *The Answer to D. White, p. 354.*

Church's visibility under persecution), who lived and died in the communion of that Church, openly opposed, lamented and bewailed, as St. Bernard,* Clemangis, Alvarus, Pelagius, Cameracensis, Bishop Grosthead, with innumerable more : although they were overborne by the predominant party then bearing rule, who could not endure to hear of reformation, though much desired by many true Catholics, and promised by Adrian VI. and other Popes before the calling of the Council of Trent. But it is very disingenuous to quote out of any writer a line or two, and not to add with it his explained sense and meaning. As for Mr. Perkins, who, in his Reformed Catholic (which I have not now by me) saith, "That during the space of 900 years there was no Church visible besides the Roman Catholic Church, his words (if his) admit of the same answer." But I dare appeal to any Christian, whether he can possibly believe, that any learned Protestant writer,† yea, any man in his wits, should think that the Gospel preached by our Saviour and the Apostles, asserted by the ancient Fathers and martyrs, should first appear in the world when Luther and Zuinglius began to preach. For my part, I utterly renounce that Gospel, faith, and Church, of which Luther, Zuinglius, or any mere mortal man, though pretending to be infallible, is the author and founder. Did not I believe the doctrine, generally owned by the Protestants to be grounded in the Scriptures and the concurrent sense of the ancient Fathers, I could not satisfy my own conscience as to the profession of it. The true meaning then of some Protestant writers could be only this: that the Gospel of Christian religion did, in Luther's days, begin first to appear more eminently freed or reformed from those aftergrown errors and corruptions it was in some later ages misfigured with, being reduced to the prime rule of faith, the Scripture, and its best interpreter, primitive antiquity.‡ And is it not an unspeakable blessing, that we enjoy such a reformation? For I can scarcely think, that any sober Romanist§ will deny, that the first were the best, and the last the worst ages of the Church, and that there was, after the Apostles' days, and the

* See the Articles of Reformation proposed to the Council of Trent, by Ferdinand the Emperor and Charles IX. Apud Goldast. Constitut. Imp. tom. 2. p. 379. and tom. 3. p. 570. [Sarpi's History of Council of Trent, B. 6. p. 480. 1676.]

† Jewell's Defence, p. 45, 46.

‡ Garenz. de Sergio de Concil. p. 706.

§ Aquin. 2. qu. 1. art. 7. resp. ad 4.

first 500 or 600 years, a manifest declension of the ancient purity of doctrine and simplicity of devotion, although there still remained a true Church as to essentials.

II. But that we may not beat the air, I shall first of all inquire into the true state of the question. Protestants do not, as Bellarmine grants, affirm the Church to be wholly and absolutely invisible, or utterly hid from the eyes of all men in any age, but comparatively only, not being always equally visible. They acknowledge that God ever had and will have a Church in the world, which shall make in some degree a visible profession of Christian religion,* even under persecution, though not so illustrious and conspicuous; for they say that the Church may be reduced to a small number, the orthodox pastors may be violently thrust out of their churches, and the best Christians forced to worship God privately in corners. And will any man deny but this detracts much from the visibility and conspicuousness of the Church.

They of the Church of Rome grant all this. The Jesuit, Mr. White answers, doth not avow, yea, disowns it, that "the Church† is visible, *i.e.* that it is a company of Christians so illustrious, as it not only may be, but is actually known to all men living, at all times;" for, saith he, "I know well enough that the Church hath not always, especially in time of persecution, such an outward worldly and prosperous estate. I grant also," adds he,‡ "that sometimes the Church is obscured, as St. Augustine saith, with multitude of scandals, and therefore it is not always alike famous and illustrious, especially so as to shine actually through the whole world." I will add the words of another learned Jesuit, Greg. de Valentia: "When we say the Church is always conspicuous, this must not be taken as if we thought it might at all times be discerned alike easily. For we know, that sometimes it (*i.e.* the Church, the mountain, Isaiah ii. 2) is so tossed with the waves of errors, schisms, and persecutions, that to such as are unskilful (as the far greater part of Christians ever are), and do not discreetly enough weigh circumstances of times and things, it shall be very hard to be known; which then especially fell

* Thus it was in the days of Athanasius and Hilary. See their words below.

† Defence of the Way, p. 354.

‡ *Ecclesia aliquando obscuratur et tanquam obnubilatur multitudine scandalorum, &c.* Epist. ad Vincent. 48. Firmiores partim exulabant, partim latitabant. Ibid.

out, when the falsehood of Arians bare rule almost over all the world. Therefore we deny not, but that it will be harder to discern the Church at some times than at other some: yet this we avouch, that it always might be discerned by such as could wisely esteem things:”* so he.

And is this all they would infer from Matth. v. 14, 15, “Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid,” &c. Is a light or city on a hill only discernible by a few discreet quick-sighted persons? Is this the visibility they so much contend for? Well, it is here granted us, that the Church is not always easily visible or discernible to all, but only to a few discreet persons. If this will satisfy them, we shall readily grant, that the Protestant Church, under the persecution and errors of the Papacy, was not easily discernible, yea, was or is hardly visible to such as are unskilful, and do not wisely enough weigh circumstances of times, *viz.* of oppression and persecution: yet this we say, that it might have been discerned even in the next ages before Luther, not only in the Waldenses, Wicklevists, Albigenses, and Bohemians (how odious and contemptible soever they are rendered to the ignorant and unskilful by their adversaries), but many other eminent professors and writers of their own Church, by such as can discreetly judge of things and times.

What great matter then can these men make of the visibility of the Church they so much boast of? But is all this contention about nothing? Truly, it is no easy thing to resolve what it is our adversaries would have, more than is already granted by us. I will give the best account I can find out of their own writings, what it is they aim at. Bellarmine stateth not the question, but somewhere saith, “that the true Church is a company of men as visible and palpable as the kingdom of France, Spain, or the state of Venice.”† Gregory de Valentia above-mentioned affirms, that the Church

* *Diligenter animadverti debet non sic accipiendum esse quod dicimus, Ecclesiam esse semper conspicuam, quasi velimus eam omni tempore dignosci posse æque facile. Novimus enim illam aliquando errorum, schismatum, persecutionum fluctibus esse agitatam, ut imperitis quidem, nec satis prudenter rationes temporum rerumque circumstantias æstimantibus cognita fuerit difficilis; quod tam maxime accidit, cum Arianorum perfidia in orbe pæne toto dominabatur. Analys. Fid. l. 6, c. 4.*

† *Ecclesia est cætus hominum ita visibilis et palpabilis ut est cætus populi Romani vel regnum Gallie [aut respublica Venetorum.] Bellarmin. de Eccles. Milit. lib. 3: cap. 2. [tom. 2. n. 10. p. 65. Præge. 1721.]*

is "visible,* i.e. is so placed in the light and sight of men, that in any age, that congregation, or company, may be evidently distinguished, and, as it were, pointed at with the finger, which you may and ought determinately or particularly believe to be the true Church. This property of the Church (saith he) exceedingly troubleth all heretics."

But it would exceedingly trouble him, were he alive, or any man else, to reconcile this with his former concession. For if the true Church be so placed in the light and sight of men, that in any age it may be evidently discerned and pointed at by the finger; how is it that (as he is forced to grant) in times of persecution and over-spreading error, as under the heathen emperors, and in the prevalency of the Arian heresy, "it is very hard to many to see where the true Church is, yea, none do discern it, but such as prudently weigh circumstances of times and things," which the far greater part of men neither do nor can? Who of our adversaries, if he had lived in the days of Hilary, would not have taken the Arians for the true Church? Did not all, or the far greater part of Bellarmine's Notes of the true Church, belong to them only, as multitude, succession, temporal prosperity, external glory, efficacy of doctrine, converting, or rather perverting, almost, as Baronius† grants, the whole world? Would they have taken those few for the true catholic Church, who separated themselves from their heretical, but supposed infallible head and guide of the universal Church, Pope Liberius? Baronius‡ the cardinal acknowledges, that he communicated with the Arians, and, in his own Letters, still extant, he professeth, that in all things he agreed with them; yea, farther, St. Hilary,§ Athanasius, and St. Jerome|| write, that he subscribed to the heresy of the

* *Ecclesia visibilis est, i.e. sic in luce hominum et conspectu posita, ut quovis seculo evidenter internosci, et quasi digito monstrari queat congregatio illa quam esse veram Ecclesiam determinate credere possis ac debeas. Hæc autem Ecclesiæ proprietates universos Hæreticos pessime habet. Annal. Fidei, lib. 6. p. 30.*

† Ad Ann. 358.

‡ Ad Ann. 357.

§ Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 9. Liberius post exactum in exilio biennium inflexus est, minisque mortis ad subscriptionem inductus, atque ita restitutus est Ecclesiæ. Athan. Epist. ad Solit. vitam agentes. [docet S. Athanasius Liberium invitum et coactum vi. tormentorum fecisse quod fecit. Bel. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. caput 9. p. 462. ut supra.]

|| Hieron. in Catal. In Fortunatiano; subscripsit hæresi Arianorum. Et in Chronico ait, Liberium tædio victum exilii in hæreticam pravitatem subscripsisse. [Tilmanus Heshusius audacter affirmat Liberium Ariana hæresi infectum esse. Et sane testes habet suæ sententiæ gravissimos

Arians ; and yet Bellarmine and other of their writers, make it an essential qualification of a Catholic, or member of the true Church, to hold communion with the Bishop of Rome, and to live under his government ; who, instead of being an infallible guide to others, may fall into damnable heresy himself. I would gladly know which company was at that time the true Church, whether they that joined with Liberius, or such as separated from him ? Here I cannot but observe (which Cardinal Baronius* takes notice of), that when, by the favour of the Emperor Constantius, and the intercession of the Arian bishops, Liberius was, upon his subscription, restored to his bishopric, many clergymen chose rather to suffer death than to join in communion with him ; whom they themselves account martyrs, or at least dare not condemn as damnable heretics and schismatics ; the appellations they bestow upon Protestants for their not communicating with the Roman Bishop.

But I have not yet done with Valentia, who in the same place farther granteth, “that the essence and truth of the Church, *i. e.* true faith and holiness, and the like, are not visible, neither can be evidently known or believed to be really in that company of men itself, who are indeed the true Church.”† Is not this the Protestants’ invisible Church ? who sometimes say, that it is one thing to see that which is the Church, *viz.* the persons publicly professing true religion in it, and another to see that it is a true Church, which depends upon the sincerity of their profession, known only by God, who searcheth the heart. Nothing can be more evidently true than this ; for suppose I see (and what can I see more ?) a company of men baptized into the name of

auctores. Athanasium in epistola ad solitariam vitam agentes, Hieronymum in Chronico et Damasum in vita Liberii. Bel. de Rom. Pont. lib. iv. cap. 9. p. 462. ut supra.] Liberius is declared to be a heretic by the sixth, seventh, and eighth General Council, and Pope Agatho and Pope Leo II.

* Patet ex lib. de Romanis Pontificibus multos clericos Romæ a Constantio necatos esse, qui noluerunt cum Liberio communicare. Baron. ad Ann. 357. par. 49.

† Non usque adeo ipsi voluimus Ecclesiam esse conspicuam, ut censeamus aut oculis cerni aut evidenti ratione intelligi posse ipsam etiam Ecclesiam quasi essentiali et veritatem, aut etiam proprietates ejus omnes. Non enim arbitramur palam aspicere aut evidenter cognosci posse, quod ulla congregatio sit revera cætus recte colentium Deum, &c. Imo vero hæc in illa ipsa congregatione hominum inesse, quæ vera est Ecclesia, non nisi obscura fide credimus, &c. Annal. Fid. 1. 6. p. 30.

Christ, meeting together in churches to serve him, to read, pray, receive sacraments, as the Arians and other heretics did, and many profane persons or hypocrites daily do, is this sufficient evidence to assure me that they, and not others, who perform the very same outward acts of divine worship, though more privately, are the only true Church, to which I am bound, under pain of damnation, to join myself? How is it then true that he saith a little before, that the Church is so visible that in "any age that company may be evidently distinguished, and, as it were, pointed at with the finger, which you may and ought determinately and particularly believe to be the true Church?" In short, the persons and outward profession of the members of the true Church are visible, but that which makes them a true Church is still invisible; so that I am still to seek for the true Church, especially seeing it is granted by Bellarmine, Turrecremata, Caus, Soto, and others,* that wicked men and hypocrites are only nominal or equivocal members of the Church, that they are rather in, or within, than of the true Church, as dead members or ill humours are in human bodies.

I will only add Costerus,† a noted writer amongst them. "Christ," saith he, "would have his Church not only visible, but very conspicuous, that the grace of God, which, in this congregation and not elsewhere, is preserved and conferred, may be known unto all men; whence he hath made her like to a city placed on a hill, and to a candle set on a candlestick." Here we may plainly perceive, that a mere visibility of the Church will not content our adversaries, unless it be very conspicuous, so as that all persons may know it. The truth is, their principles oblige them to no less.

For, first, they say, that God would have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, and that

* Hieron. in Comment. in Psal. 130. *Ecclesia non in parietibus consistit, sed in dogmatum veritate; [Ecclesia ibi est ubi fides vera est. Ante annos quindecim aut viginti parietes omnes hic Ecclesiarum hæretici possidebant. Hieron. in Psal. 133. vol. 7. p. 388. Parisiis.] ante 20 enim annos omnes Ecclesias has hæretici possidebant: Ecclesia autem vera illic erat ubi vera fides erat. Apud Bellar. de Eccles. Milit. lib. 3. cap. 2. et cap. 9.*

† Voluit Christus non modo visibilem esse Ecclesiam, sed valde conspicuam, ut omnibus innotesceret gratia Dei, quæ in hac congregatione, et non alibi, asservatur atque confertur. Unde eam civitati quæ in monte posita est, et candelæ super candelabrum similem fecit. *Enchir. cap. 2. de Eccles. p. 108.*

therefore he affordeth all men sufficient means to come to the truth. Secondly, they deny that the Scripture, in regard of its imperfection and obscurity, is sufficient to this end; but that the teaching of the visible Church is the rule of faith, which all persons, especially those that are ignorant and unlearned, must, by an implicit faith in all things, adhere to. Whence, thirdly, it unavoidably follows, that if God afford all men sufficient means to come to the knowledge of the truth in order to salvation, and the teaching of the true Church be the ordinary means appointed thereunto, then the Church must be, in all ages and places, not only visible to some few discreet wise persons, as Valentia saith, but very conspicuous and clearly discernible to all, even the most ignorant and weak-sighted, like a city set on a hill, &c. Lastly, they affirm (where lies the mystery) that their Roman Church is the only infallible teaching Church in and by its head the Pope, to whose determination, as Pope Boniface* solemnly determined and pronounced, all are bound *de necessitate salutis*, to submit. The perpetual, illustrious, and glorious visibility of this their Church (as for other Churches they are not at all solicitous what becomes of them) is what they earnestly contend for. Their great champion Bellarmine well perceived this, when he said,† that “in regard all points of faith depend upon the testimony of the Church (*i.e.* their Roman Church), unless we be most certain which is the true Church, all things in religion will be altogether uncertain.”

III. But that this kind of glorious, illustrious, and conspicuous visibility necessarily and perpetually belongs to any particular, or their Roman Church, is visibly and palpably false, as the Scriptures and ecclesiastical histories evidence. In Elijah's days there was a true Church of God in Israel; yet it was so far invisible that the seer or prophet himself could not see it. Whence he complains, that he was left alone, although God assures him he had reserved to himself seven thousand that never bowed the knee to Baal.‡ Let

* Subesse Rom. Pont. omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. Extravagant. de major. et obed. unam sanctam.

† Cum omnia plane dogmata ex testimonio Ecclesiæ pendeant, nisi certissimi simus (certitudine scil. infallibili, ut ibidem ait) quæ sit vera Ecclesia, incerta erunt prorsus omnia. De Eccles. Milit. lib. 3. cap. 10. [tom. 2. p. 80. Prægæ, 1721.]

‡ 1 Kings xix. 18.

them not think to evade by saying, that the Church of Israel was a particular Church, for so is the Church of Rome, which by all their infallibility can never be made the catholic or universal Church.

In the time of our Saviour the chief priests, with the consent of the generality of the people, condemned and crucified him as a blasphemer and a false prophet, whilst only some few persons, obscure and contemptible in the eyes of the world, as Simcon, Nicodemus, &c. believed on him. I desire to know amongst whom the true Church was then to be found, and that in a conspicuous and illustrious state? Do not some of your own writers* affirm, that there was no true faith to be found on earth, I mean at the time of his crucifixion, but in the heart of the Virgin Mary.

To descend lower, in the days of Dioclesian† (the worst and last persecutor of Christians) such havoc and prodigious destruction was made of the Christian Church, that several trophies and monuments, as Baronius grants, were set up in Spain in memory of the total extirpation of Christianity, *superstitione Christi ubique deleta*. Where was then the conspicuous, as Costerus phraseth it, and illustrious state of the catholic or particular Roman Church? Surely, had not the Church of Rome herself, as well as other Christian Churches, been in a great degree invisible as to the knowledge of the Roman Emperor and his inquisitors, in all human probability the name of Christians, as they boasted, had been wholly rooted out.

I might add the state of the Christian Church, even Roman, under the prevalency of Arianism and its heretical head, Pope Liberius, when, as St. Jerome‡ writes, the whole world sighed and wondered how it became Arian. When the catholic bishops were banished from their sees, and the orthodox Christians, forsaking the churches, worshipped God in crypts, in private houses and corners: concerning which deplorable times St. Hilary writeth in this manner to such as communi-

* *Etsi non nisi duo fideles remanserunt in mundo, in iis salvetur Ecclesia. Fortalitium fidei, lib. 5. quoted by B. Ives, p. 83.*

† *Durand. Rationale, lib. 6. c. 72. Turcremata de Consecrat. Distinct. 2. num. 4. Ad annum Christi 304. Nomine Christianorum deleti qui rempub. evertabant.*

‡ *Ingemuit totus orbis, et se factum esse Arianum admiratus est. Dialog. contra Luciferianos.*

cated with the Arians :* “ You are ill taken with the love of walls, you ill seek or reverence the Church of God in houses and structures ; mountains, and prisons, and dungeons are safer.” He adds, that “ it was hard to find in the East a catholic bishop or people.” Athanasius saith as much or more. “ What Church,” saith he, “ now adores Christ freely ? Seeing if it be pious it is in danger. For if there be some pious and studious of Christ, as there are every where many such, they also, as the great prophet Elias, are hid, thrust themselves into holes and caverns of the earth, or wander in solitude.”

These things being undeniably evident, I desire to know whether in those days the true Church was not only visible, but very conspicuous to the sight of all men, so that it might be “ evidently distinguished, and, as it were, pointed at with the finger,” as Costerus and Valentia affirm.

But what need is there of many words in this case, when our adversaries themselves grant, † “ that a little before the end of the world, when the Antichrist shall come, the external state of the Roman Church shall cease, and that the public worship of God shall by persecution be suppressed, and that the truly pious shall communicate with the Pope only in heart and soul.” The difference then betwixt them and us cometh only to this, that what we say hath been, they say shall be hereafter ; whilst it is agreed on both sides, that an illustrious conspicuous visibility is no essential property, or inseparable note of the true Church.

IV. I now come to examine the places of Scripture mentioned in your Letter to evince the contrary.

The first and principal urged by Valentia, and many others, is Matth. xv. 14, 15 : “ Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men

* Male vos parietum amor cepit, male Ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificisque veneramini. Montes mihi et lacus et carceres sunt tutiores. Addit : Rarum esse apud Orientem invenire aut Episcopum aut populum Catholicum. Lib. contr. Auxentium. Quæ nunc Ecclesia Christum libere adorât ? Siquidem si pia est, periculo subjacet. Nam si alicubi sunt pii, sunt autem ubique tales permulti, illi itidem absconduntur, &c. Athan. Epist. ad solitariam vitam agent. Vid. Apolog. ejus ad Constant. et de fuga.

† Paulo ante mundi finem externus status Ecclesiæ Romanæ cessabit, et publicum fidelium cum eadem commercium, et ἀποστασία passim obtinebit, et tamen tunc pii corde et animo cum Papa et Ecclesiâ Romanâ communicabunt. Rhemenses in Annotat. in 2 Thess. ii. et Revel. xii.

light a candle to put it under a bushel," &c. To which may be added, Isa. ii. 2; lx. 20; lxi. 9; Dan. vii. 14, quoted in your paper. To all which the same answer may be applied.

My reply is, that those words do not prove a perpetual, conspicuous, and illustrious visibility of the Church in all ages, to all persons, which our adversaries contend for. First, because the words are not spoken, at least directly, of the Church general or successive in all ages, but of and to the Apostles personally, "Ye are the light of the world." And seeing they were commanded by our Saviour to teach all nations, we may reasonably suppose that they were under a special protection of Divine Providence until they had fulfilled the work committed unto them. But the case of ordinary pastors and teachers of the Church is not the same with that of Apostles. Secondly, suppose we understand the words of the Church general or successive, which we grant to be a light to the ignorant world, and like a city set on a hill; yet it cannot be denied, yea, our adversaries grant it, that this light of apostolic doctrine in the Church may be obscured or eclipsed by error,* scandal, and persecution, as the sun and moon sometimes are, though they be glorious and most visible lights.

In like manner a city set on a hill may be so clouded by foggy mists and vapours, that it may become for some time invisible, at least not so visible or conspicuous as that any man may point at with his finger.

The other similitude of men's lighting a candle and setting it on a candlestick, that so it may give light to all in the house, signifies the clearness, universality, and diffusiveness of the doctrine taught by the Apostles. But that any one particular Church, Greek or Roman, should be such a candlestick as can never fail or be removed as well as that of Ephesus,† and many other Apostolical Churches wholly rooted out by Mahometanism, or which should be, as our adversaries too grossly affirm, more visible and discernible to all men than the light itself (*viz.* of the Gospel contained in the Scripture) placed in the candlestick, *i.e.* the Church: this, I suppose, no prudent man will take to be our Saviour's meaning in those words.

That they make their Church (the candlestick), and its authority, more visible to us than the truth or light of the

* Aug. Epist. ad Vincentium supra.

† Revel. ii.

holy Scripture, is so notorious I will not stand to prove it.* In a word, a candle, though burning clearly on a candlestick, may in time want snuffing, and so may the most Apostolical Church in after ages need reformation.

The second place is Matth. xviii. 17 : "Tell the Church ; if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen or publican." "Now," saith the Letter, "it were very hard to be condemned for a heathen or a publican for not hearing a Church that hath so closely lain hid, that none could hear, see, feel, or understand it for nine hundred years."

First, I answer, that these words prove not the Church visible or palpable to all men, heathens and infidels, inquiring after the true Church, but at most to Christians only who live under the Church's government, and submit to her censures. Secondly, the words relate to a particular Christian church of which a person is a member ; for it were absurd to imagine our Saviour should oblige any Christian, if his brother should offend him, to tell the whole catholic Church throughout the world his offence *per literas encyclicas*. Yea, it is plain and undeniable the place respects not the whole diffused number of Christians, no, not in any particular church, but the governors only. Now our adversaries will not, I hope, say that any particular Church, except their own, much less its rulers or representatives, shall be eminently visible and conspicuous to all Christians at all times. Certainly our Saviour in this place does not promise any special privilege to the Church of Rome more than Antioch, Ephesus, or any other Apostolical Church to whom that precept of *telling the church* doth equally belong, some of whom are long since utterly extinguished by the overflowing of Mahometanism. How can they, then, from this place infer, that any particular church shall be perpetually visible and conspicuous to the world exercising church government over its members ? Nay, farther, how could the Christians belonging to their Roman Church, when under the persecution of Diocletian or Constantius (at which time the shepherds being smitten, the sheep were all scattered, the Church dissipated, and all church discipline interrupted), tell the church, or make complaint to the governors of it, when they scarcely knew where they were to whom in case of

* Quæ sit vera scriptura, et quis ejus verus sensus, non possumus scire, nisi ex Testimonio veræ Ecclesiæ. Bellarmin. de Notis Eccl. lib. 4. c. 2. [vol. 2. p. 97. n. 9. ut supra.]

offence and scandal to make complaint? Our Saviour's precept then supposes the free exercise of church government, which, in times of violent persecution, cannot be exercised or supposed.

I might add, that their own writers, Acosta, Telesphorus the Hermit,* and others confess, that when the Antichrist cometh, all ecclesiastical order and public service of God shall be buried, the church doors destroyed, the altars forsaken, the church empty, &c. Now I appeal to the conscience of any man whether, at that time, it would be possible, in case of scandal, to tell the Church, when the Church shall be forced to hide itself, and all ecclesiastical order is suppressed and dissolved by the violence of persecution.

Lastly, whereas it is objected that the Protestant Church hath so closely lain hid for nine hundred years, that no man could see or understand it; this is very falsely affirmed, as I shall shew afterward, unless such as professed the religion of the Scriptures, ancient Fathers and Councils, protesting against some new Roman additional articles, imposed of late by Pope Pius and the Tridentine Council, were no true visible Church of God.

The last place, *viz.* 2 Cor. iv. 5: "If our Gospel be hid," &c. is least of all to the purpose; for there St. Paul plainly speaketh, not of the Church, but of the Gospel or Christian faith, which is clearly delivered by the Scripture, to which, as St. Jerome† and St. Chrysostom‡ acknowledge, we ought, especially in times of heresy and persecution, to have recourse for our establishment in the truth; and if the Gospel first preached, and afterwards written by the Apostles (for what they first preached they afterwards, by the will of God, as Irenæus saith, wrote), be hid to any, it is hid to them that perish, whose minds the devil hath blinded. Doth not this place expressly confute our adversaries, who affirm that the Gospel, as revealed by the Scripture, is dark, obscure, and

* Acosta de Temp. Noviss. lib. 2. cap. 15. Telesphorus de Magnit. Tribulat. p. 32. Aquipontanus de Antichrist. p. 23.

† Hieronym. in Nahum. c. 2. [cap. 3. tom. 5. p. 506: Parisiis, 1602.]

‡ Chrysost. Hom. 49. in Matth. [Vide Serm. XL. tom. v. p. 504. Serm. LIII. tom. v. p. 601.] Nunc nullo modo cognoscitur quæ sit vera Ecclesia Christi, nimirum ex quo obtinuit hæresis Ecclesias, nisi tantummodo per Scripturas. Irenæus cont. Hæres. lib. 2. Quæ præconiauerunt, postea per Dei voluntatem scripserunt, &c. Costerus Enchirid. cap. 1. Alphonsus de Castro cont. Hæres. grant this.

invisible to the laity, that so they may hang their faith by a blind and implicit obedience on the visibility and infallible authority of their Church or Popes, who may be, as some of them have been, notorious and manifest heretics? So that these words of St. Paul can do them no service.

V. I come now to the Fathers quoted in your letter; and first for St. Chrysostom saying, "It is easier for the sun to be extinguished than the Church to be darkened."* I wonder any sober men should require us to believe that on St. Chrysostom's authority, which they do not believe themselves. For the Romanists, Valentia, and others, as we have seen, confess, that the Church, even their Roman Church, may be obscured or darkened; as it undeniably was under the heathen and Arian emperors in times of prevailing heresy and persecution. So that Chrysostom must, even by them, be understood of a total, not partial, eclipse or darkness; for in that place he treateth of times of persecution, wherein all grant the Church may be darkened, and saith the tyrants are gone and perished, but the Church remaineth unconquered.

As to the places quoted out of St. Augustine, *Tract. in Joan. et de unitate Ecclesiæ*, cap. 7, I answer, that he speaketh of the state of the Christian Church as it was in his days, in its external lustre and glory, retaining the primitive faith without addition or detraction. It was indeed strange blindness in the Donatists, he writeth against, not to see the true Church, which, as a mountain or light on a hill, was then plainly visible before them all over Africa, yea, the whole world; but to dare to restrain it to *pars Donati*, the faction of Donatus, as now the Jesuits restrain it to the Popish party, was plain impudence. Nevertheless St. Augustine doth not say that the Church should always and in all after ages remain in that visible, prosperous, and illustrious state; yea, contrarily he confesseth, that it is sometimes[†] obscured though the multitude of scandals;‡ that it is like the moon that may be hid, that it "shall not appear by reason of the unmeasurable rage of ungodly persecutors, yea, so obscured that the members thereof shall not know one another."†

* Hom. 30. in Matth.

† Aliquando obscuratur. Epist. ad Vincentium, 47.

‡ Ecclesia non apparebit, impiis tunc persecutoribus ultra modum savientibus. Epist. 80. ad Hesychium. Vide de Baptis. contra Donatistas. lib. 6. cap. 4. et Enarrat. in Psalmum 10.

This arguing, then, from the state of the Church of old in St. Augustine's days is just like theirs, who persuade us, that the Church of Rome is now the only true catholic and apostolic Church, because St. Paul sixteen hundred years ago saith their faith was commended throughout the world, Rom. i. 8, (so was their obedience also, Rom. xvi. 19). But doth the Apostle say they should continue in that faith more than obedience unto the end of the world,* or that their Church alone should never corrupt the faith, or apostatize in any degree from it? He seemeth to say otherwise, when he thus writeth to the Roman Church, Rom. viii. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22: "Boast not against the branches—thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Because of unbelief they, *i. e.* the Jewish Church, were broken off, and thou standest by faith; be not high-minded, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee." And as to Christian obedience, it is granted by Bellarmine,† Genebrard,‡ and others, that some Popes have been so scandalously wicked, that they were rather apostatical than apostolical, and scarcely deserved to have their names registered in the catalogue of the Roman bishops.

VI. As for the second question, wherein satisfaction is desired to answer Roman Catholics, when they demand the names of some professors of the Protestant religion before the Reformation; it being to them strange, that if Protestancy be from the Apostles, and hath been in all ages, they can shew no writings of some eminent professors of it, as well before the Reformation as of many now since. To this I reply, first,

* 1 Tim. iv. 1.

† De Pontif. in lib. 1. in Præfat. [Ac ne forte putaremus ob vitam incorruptam et mores integerrimos summorum Pontificum tamdiu stetisse hanc sedem—permisit ad extremum Deus ut etiam quidem parum probi pontifices aliquando hanc sedem tenerent et regerent. Quales sane fuerunt Stephanus VI., qualis Leo. V., Christophorus I., Sergius III., Joannes XII., alique non pauci. Vol. 1. p. 275, ut supra.]

‡ Genebrard. Chronol. lib. 4. seculo 10. [Per annos fere 150 pontifices circiter 50 a Joanne octavo ad Leonem usque a virtute majorum prorsus defecerunt apostatici, potius quam apostolici. A.D. 904. Paris. 1583.] Baronius in Ann. 912. num. 8. et in ann. 985. num. 1. [Quæ tunc facies sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ! Quam fœdissima cum Romæ dominarentur potentissimæ æque ac sordidissimæ meretrices quarum arbitrio mutarentur sedes, darentur episcopi et quod auditu horrendum et infandum est intruderentur in sedem Petri earum amasi pseudo Pontifices. Baron. Annales Stephani, p. 7. An. 4. Antverpiæ, 1603.]

that although the Apostles were not called by the name of Protestants, as neither were they by the name of Catholics or Papists, yet they were really of that religion Protestants do profess; for from the Apostles and their writings have we learned the religion we maintain against additional Popish errors and traditional or unwritten points of faith. Such as these reckoned up by Pope Pius as articles of the Roman Catholic faith, which all Papists must swear to profess as necessary to salvation. That there are seven sacraments properly so called, transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of saints and angels, worshipping images and relics, indulgences, the Bishop of Rome's supremacy over all Christian churches, real and proper sacrificing of Christ in the mass, communion in one kind, &c. All which are either not mentioned in the Apostles' writings, or contradicted and condemned by them. Secondly, I answer, that the ancient Fathers and Councils for four or five hundred years at least (I might say more) after Christ, were not in the points above-mentioned of Pope Pius's faith, but either say nothing of them, or testify against them, or at least speak doubtfully of them; whence I conclude that they were of the Protestant, not Popish religion. This I shall shew from their writings. Yea, thirdly, that some of the new articles of faith before named cannot be proved to be any part of the ancient catholic belief, by the authority of any eminent writers for above one thousand years after Christ, particularly in the points of seven sacraments, purgatory, indulgences, communion in one kind, and some others. Lastly, that there is scarcely any point, especially of them before rehearsed, condemned by us in the present Roman Church; but we are able to produce multitudes of eminent writers, and some of their own communion, who complain of them, or protest against them, as well as we, in the ages next before Luther. To perform my promise, I shall now prove, first,* that the articles of the present Roman Catholic faith recited by Pope Pius, and added by him to the Nicene Creed, are either not mentioned at all in the Apostles' writings, or refuted and condemned by them.

VII. First, for their seven sacraments.† The Apostles nowhere teach us to acknowledge seven sacraments, or that

* 1. Assertion.

† Nec plura, nec pauciora. De Sacram. lib. 2. c. 24. [tom. 3. p. 108. Pragæ, 1721.] Chrysost. Ambros. Austin, &c.

matrimony, orders, extreme unction, confirmation, confession, are such, and, as Bellarmine affirms, only such. Baptism and the holy eucharist we own, flowing, as the ancient Fathers speak, out of Christ's side, whence came forth water and blood; which are answerable to the two only Jewish sacraments, circumcision and the passover, as we read 1 Cor. x. 2, 3, 4; more we find not. It is true, St. Paul, discoursing of the conjugal union betwixt Christ and his Church, termeth it *μέγα μυστήριον*, a great mystery. The vulgar Latin translation renders it ambiguously and improperly *magnum sacramentum*,* a great sacrament. Hence the Romish Church will needs have matrimony, instituted by God in Paradise, to be a proper Christian sacrament; but St. Paul declareth he meant no such matter; for, as Cardinal Cajetan observes,† he immediately addeth, "but I speak of Christ and the church." St. James also mentions anointing the sick with oil;‡ but that was in order to the miraculous gift of healing the body, as we may gather from Mark vi. 13.§ It had no spiritual effect on the soul, as all sacraments properly so called, have and must have, as is granted. The forgiveness of sins was by prayer to God, not oil, verse 15.

VIII. Secondly, The Apostles did not teach transubstantiation,|| or, that by consecration the substance of the bread and wine, in the Lord's supper, are annihilated or turned into the substance of Christ's body and blood. Yea, St. Paul expressly declares the contrary, for he calleth it bread and wine even after consecration. "The bread that we break (but Christ first blessed and afterwards brake it) is it not the communion of the body of Christ? The cup of blessing we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" So that bread and the cup, i. e. by a figure of metonymy, as all must

* Ephes. v. 32.

† In locum.

‡ James v. 14.

§ So Cajetan expoundeth that place.

|| Durand. Biel, Scotus, Cameracensis, Cajetan, grant it cannot be evidently proved from the Scripture. [De transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi, rara est in antiquis scriptoribus mentio. Adv. hæreses VIII. c. Indulg. p. 578. Paris. 1571. See also Bp. Tonstal de Eucharist. lib. 1. p. 46. Lutet. 1554.] See below, Matth. xxvi. 26. 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. Card. Contarenus de Sacram. 1. 2. c. 3. Canus loc. Theol. 1. 3. c. 3. Fisher cont. Luther, c. 10. say the same. 1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, 28. Ver. 29. The church is called Christ's body, is it therefore his natural body in a literal sense? 1 Cor. x. John xv. 1. Did Christ eat his own body, when the sacrament was administered and taken by him? See Chrysostom. Hom. 40. in Joan. iii.

grant, the wine in the cup, remain in the communion as means whereby we obtain the communion of Christ's body and blood. In the next chapter, in three verses together, he calleth it bread. May not we call it so? Or, was it not what St. Paul called it? But he called it the Lord's body. True: yet not in a literal, but sacramental sense, even as the cup (which to be sure is not transubstantiated) is termed his blood, or the new testament and covenant in his blood, as the lamb was called the passover, circumcision the covenant, baptism the laver of regeneration, in which, nevertheless, Romanists do not believe any transubstantiation. This bread, we doubt not, is indeed Christ's body, as that rock in the wilderness was Christ: as Christ was the true vine or true living bread, which no sober man will interpret in a literal, proper and substantial, but in a sacramental, symbolical or typical sense.

IX. Thirdly, According to the doctrine of the holy Scripture, there neither is nor can be purgatory.* This I prove from Rev. xiv. 13, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord—for they rest from their labours." How do men, who die in a state of grace, and so in Christ the Lord, rest from their labours, if as soon as they die they are tormented, or, as the Roman phrase is, labour (none know how long) in the fire of purgatory? It is confessed by our adversaries, that all impenitent and wicked men, who, being void of grace, die not in the Lord, go to hell, not purgatory. How do righteous and good men enter into peace and rest, according to Isaiah lvii. 20, if after death they enter into fiery torments? St. Paul saith it generally of all believers in Christ, not martyrs only, as some would evade, that they sleep in Jesus, and would not have us to sorrow excessively for them: how do they as it were sleep in Christ's bosom? Why should we not mourn exceedingly for them, if they properly lie in flames of fire under unspeakable torments, not much inferior to them of hell, as is granted, excepting only the duration or continuance? Add John v. 24, "He that believeth shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death to life." But he that cometh into purgatory, cometh into condemnation.

* Polydore Virgil. de Invent. l. 1. c. 1. Biel. in Can. Missæ, lect. 57. Alphonsus de Castro, lib. 8. tit. 4. [De purgatorio fere nulla mentio potissimum apud Græcos scriptores. p. 578. Paris. 1571.] Indulgent. Valentia de Indulg. grant that purgatory is not to be found in Scripture, nor indulgences. 1 Thess. iv. 14.

Possibly it will be objected that St. Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 12, plainly delivereth the doctrine of purgatory,* “The fire shall try every man’s work; he shall be saved, yet so as by fire.” But how can it be a plain place for purgatory, when Origen and Augustine, yea, Bellarmine himself, confess it is a most obscure one, and therefore very unfit to ground an article of faith upon. St. Paul’s whole discourse in that chapter is metaphorical and allusive, as those words especially evidence, ver. 15, *ὡς διὰ πυρὸς*, as it were by fire, or as by fire, *i. e.* with much danger and difficulty, like one who runs through the fire to save his life. That the place proveth not the Roman doctrine of purgatory, is manifest by this argument urged by St. Augustine. The fire St. Paul mentioneth, shall try every man’s work. The fire of purgatory, as they themselves grant, trieth not every man’s work; for it trieth only such men’s works as die under the guilt of venial sins,† or such mortal ones as are forgiven, but are not fully satisfied for, and therefore (which is a contradiction) are still to be punished. Therefore St. Paul’s fire cannot be the fire of purgatory, into which the best and worst sort of men come not at all. Again, it is one thing to try men’s works whether they be good or bad, and another to punish, and by punishing to purge away the guilt of such as are bad. In all probability St. Paul by the fire in that text figuratively expressed the severe judgment of Christ at the last day. “The day shall declare it.” Then indeed our Saviour, like a goldsmith or a refiner, shall exactly try every man’s work, &c. then such as retain the foundation, *i. e.* true faith in Christ, and build upon it wood, hay, stubble, *i. e.* erroneous opinions and fond imaginations (of which this purgatory doctrine is one instance), shall be saved, yet so as by fire, *i. e.* with much danger, undergoing a strict scrutiny.

* *Patres aliqui, per ignem non intelligunt ignem purgatorii, sed divini iudicii; quomodo loquitur Paulus 1 Cor. iii. Bellar. lib. 1. de Purg. cap. 1. [tom. 2. p. 33. cap. 5. n. 25. p. 334. n. 36. ut supra.] Augustin. de Fide et Operibus, c. 15. Ad Dulcitium, qu. 1. Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. 1. c. 5. οὐδεν τῶν ἔνδον λαβῶν ὕπως τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ προεξαρπάξῃ τῆς φλογός; as Chrysostom expounds it, tom. 5. Hom. 28. p. 467. Aug. ad Dulcitium, qu. 1.*

† *Ignis probationis, non purgationis. Aug. de Fide et Operibus, c. 15. Non est plene remissa culpa, quamdiu peccator est reus solvendæ pœnæ. Canus loc. Theolog. lib. 12. pag. 435. Exempto reatu, eximitur et pœna. Tort. de Baptismo, cap. 5. So Theodoret, Theophylact, and Anselm, approved by Bellarmine, lib. 1. de Purgator. c. 5. p. 586. Malachi iii. c. v. 3.*

X. Fourthly, The Scripture no where commands, adviseth, or encourageth us to pray to saints or angels, but to God only;* “Call upon me in the time of trouble,” &c. “When ye pray, say, Our Father,” &c. In the Old Testament, Bellarmine grants, there is no mention of invocation of saints, because the patriarchs, prophets and saints were in *limbo*, not admitted to see God; of which opinion, as to Christians, were many of the ancient Fathers, although the Papists now reject it as an error. In the New, at least if we except that most abstruse book, the Revelation, Eckius, Salmeron, Bannes and others, confess that it hath no footsteps. Yea, St. Paul expressly condemns worshipping angels out of a voluntary humility, after the vain philosophy of the Platonists, who yet did not worship them as gods, any more than Papists, but only as messengers or mediators betwixt God and men. Elsewhere he asketh the Roman Church (which she should remember), “How shall they call on him (*i. e.* lawfully) on whom they have not believed?” But we believe in God only, not in any saint or angel: how shall we then call on them? I might add, that the Church of Rome hath no certainty, even of human faith, that the saints in heaven know our wants, or hear our prayers; for they know not on what ground to settle this belief: some flying to extraordinary revelations, some to the brittle and voluntary glass of the Trinity, some to the reports of angels, intruding into the things they have not seen, nor can be assured of, cleaving to what is uncertain,† and neglecting what is undoubtedly lawful, *i. e.* to pray to God through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, the only Mediator betwixt God and man, the only Advocate with the Father, who is alone the propitiation for our sins, who so loved us as to die for us, which neither the blessed Virgin nor any saint ever did. In a word, prayer or invocation is, as all grant, *latría*, an act of divine worship, and therefore must, by no means upon any pretence, be given in any degree to fellow-servants, but reserved to God our Sovereign only. “See thou

* Psalm 1. De Sanct. Beat. 1. l. c. 19. Becanus in Enchirid. c. 7. Salmeron. in 1 Tim. ii. disput. 2. art. 7. Vide Sixtum Senens. Biblioth. lib. 6. Annotat. 345. Enchiridion in 1 Tim. ii. disput. 7. art. 22. qu. 1. art. 10. Col. ii. 18. Rom. x. 14.

† Certa ratione nascimus an sancti nostra vota cognoscant, quamvis pie hoc credamus, Cajetan. 22. qu. 88. art. 5. 1 John ii. 2. 1 Tim. ii. 5.

do it not (as the angel said to St. John,* who would have worshipped him not as God, but as the subordinate revealer of those glorious mysteries to him); I am thy fellow-servant, worship God." They who are for worshipping angels, why do they not, as St. Augustine saith, hearken to the angel saying, "See thou do it not?" As for their usual evasion, that they do not pray to them, but only desire them to pray for them, it is vain and impertinent; for they not only pray or desire them to pray for them, but they directly pray to them, using the very words and prayers which David, and other holy men of God, have used to God himself; yea, they beg of them such things as none but God can bestow; as forgiveness of sins, increase of grace, and eternal glory. No man that has read their breviaries and prayer-books can be ignorant of the truth of this.

XI. Fifthly, The Scripture nowhere commends to us, or commands worshipping of any images, but expressly forbids it. No precept nor example can be found of any prophet or apostle that required or practised it. The second commandment, most suspiciously, if not consciously, thrust up into the first by Popish Catechisms, is clearly against it, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor" (which is more comprehensive) "the likeness of anything in heaven or in earth," &c. "Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them," &c.† Now, what things are in heaven? God the Father, Son, and

* Rev. xxii. 9. *Utinam velletis ipsos colere, facile ab ipsis discretis non illos colere. Audite angelum, doctorem, &c.* August. in Psalm xvi. V. *Psalterium B. Virginis apud Chemnitium in Exam. Concilii Trident.* See Bishop Andrews' *Posthuma* against Cardinal Perron, Dr. Brevint, &c.

† *Inter traditiones est imaginum veneratio.* Aquinas, par. 3. q. 25. art. 3. This law is not ceremonial, but natural, or moral; as Irenæus, Tertul. Cyprian, Austin, affirm. See Bellarmine, lib. 2. de Imag. cap. 7. The second Nicene Council say it was ceremonial, who yet ground worship of images not on Scripture, but ecclesiastical tradition. V. Concil. Nic. 2. act. 7. apud Coriol. *Abulensis* in loc. qu. 5. Aquinas, part. 3. qu. 25. art. 3. [p. 52, 53. 1622.] Durandus, lib. 3. dist. 9. qu. 2. ait fatuum esse imagines ad representandum Deum facere. [fol. 259. H. 1508.] Vasquez, lib. 2. de Adorat. disp. 4. c. 2. who quoteth others. Exod. xxxii. 5. *Lactant.* Instit. lib. 2. Exod. xxxii. 1. In Exod. xxxii. 6. 1 Cor. x. 7. Par. 3. qu. 25. art. 3 et 4. Azor. Instit. lib. 9. c. 6. Suarez. tom. 1. disput. 54. sect. 4. Vasquez de Adoratione, lib. 2. c. 4. Valentia, Cosertus. [In the Abridgement of the Christian Doctrine, by the Most Rev. Dr. Reilly. Dublin, 1845, p. 20. "Say the ten commandments: 1. I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have no other gods but me. 2. Thou shalt not take the name of God in vain."]

Holy Ghost, angels, and glorified saints. We may not therefore make (to worship them) the images or likenesses of any of these. All are forbidden. Surely, if any image were to be made and worshipped, certainly that of God might. But God himself expressly forbids it, Deut. iv. 15, 16, for, saith he, "When I came down from Mount Sinai, ye saw no manner of similitude," &c. "Take heed therefore lest ye corrupt yourselves by making any graven or molten image, and likeness," &c. Hence some, even of the Roman Church, condemn the making of any image of God. How highly was God incensed against the Jews for making and worshipping the golden calf, which yet was, though not a formal image, an emblem or memorial of the true God. Hence the feast was proclaimed to be kept, at least ultimately and intentionally, as Papists use to distinguish, *Jehovæ*, to the honour of *Jehovah*. Could the Jews be such sots themselves as to imagine that the calf, made a day or two before, brought them out of Egypt several months before it was made? They called it therefore their god, only as a representative or hieroglyphical memorial of him they had a mind to see (as heathen idolaters ever had) going before them in effigy. "Make us gods (or a god) to go before us." Yet St. Paul expressly condemns this feast and worship as plain idolatry. "Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of them, as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink," &c. And idolatry is *summus seculi reatus*, as Tertullian hath it, no less than high treason against the majesty of God, in giving his honour, upon any pretence or in any respect, to what is not God, but a creature, as every image, whether materially or formally considered, is. Now it is the known doctrine of Aquinas, Azorius, and the Jesuits, that the very same honour, *latria*, which belongs to God or Christ, is to be given to their images for their sakes whom they represent; as if, out of reverence to the king, I should honour his judges, officers, or favourites with the very same outward expressions of reverence, homage and allegiance, I yield to himself. Would any wise prince take this well? In a word, let it be only remembered that God, especially in this particular of worshipping images, hath declared himself to be a jealous God,* visiting the iniquity, signally the idolatry, of fathers upon their children, of which good King Josiah,† the son of Manasseh, was a remarkable instance.

* Exod. xx.

† 2 Chron. xxxv.

XII. Sixthly, Concerning indulgences, *i. e.* a power in the Pope for money to grant out of the common treasury of Christ and the saints' merits amassed together, as much as he pleaseth to any person for the freeing of him from the temporal punishment due here or in purgatory for his sins, as if Christ alone were not abundantly sufficient, is a doctrine which hath no real ground, not the least, in holy Scripture. We read indeed of St. Paul's remitting to the penitent incontinent Corinthian* part of that ecclesiastical penance which was imposed on him, but of making over to him, or any one else, the merits of any saints, we find not the least intimation. Cardinals Cajetan, Durand, Roffensis, and others, grant that indulgences have no ground in scripture, as we shall shew hereafter; yea, they are contrary to it, which everywhere ascribes all remission of all sorts of sins, and consequently of all punishment properly so called, to be inflicted by God for them, wholly and only to the blood, merits and satisfaction of Christ our Saviour and Redeemer, who is highly dishonoured by these pretended pardons. St. Paul, not without some indignation, asketh the Corinthians, "Was Paul crucified for you?"† If the sufferings of St. Paul and other saints satisfy, at least in part, for men's sins, or, which is all one, for the temporal punishment due to them; why may it not be truly said, that Paul, as well as Christ, was crucified or suffered death for us? Indeed I cannot but wonder at the strange perverseness of our adversaries, who will by no means grant that the merits, righteousness and obedience, especially active of Christ, are or can be through faith imputed unto us for our justification and remission of our sins, and yet earnestly contend, that by the Papal indulgence, the merits, fastings, and prayers of saints, monks, and friars, may be imputed or made over to any that will be at the cost to purchase it.

XIII. Seventhly, As to the Pope's supremacy over all Christians and Churches, although a great noise is made with "Thou art Peter," &c. "And to thee will I give the keys," &c. certainly, as some of their own writers confess,‡ it hath

* V. Cassand. consult. art. 12. in fine. [Durand. l. 4. dist. 20. 93. fol. 400. K. 1508.] 2 Cor. ii. 10.

† 1 Cor. i. 13.

‡ Card. Cusanus concordant. lib. 3. cap. 13. Marsilius defens. part. 2. cap. 18. Licet forte non sit de jure divino Rom. Pontif. ut talem Petro succedere, &c. Bellar. de P. R. l. 1. c. 12. Matth. xxii. 26. [tom. 1. lib. ii. p. 352. n. 19, ut supra.]

no ground in Scripture, yea, it is contrary thereunto. For that our Saviour, although his Apostles were often disputing who should be chief amongst them, never declared Peter to be his viceroy or vicar, which would have put a final end to all this contention about supremacy. Yea, he makes them all alike equal, even after he had said, "Thou art Peter," &c.

Secondly, St. John was the disciple whom Jesus loved, in an especial manner, above the rest of the Apostles; for no doubt he had a love for every one of them. St. James,* his brother or cousin, was made Bishop of Jerusalem by the Apostles, and succeeded our Saviour in his throne, as Epiphanius saith. Why might not either of these plead a right of supremacy as well as Peter?

Thirdly, St. Paul, although he was *novissimus Apostolorum*, the last Apostle,† called after all the rest, yet he saith, he thought he came not behind even the chiefest of the Apostles; yea, that "he laboured more than they all,"‡ and had on him "the care of all the churches."§ Can we think he would have presumed to have written of himself in such a high manner, if he had thought that Christ his Lord had appointed St. Peter as his vicegerent, to be the head, sovereign prince, and supreme governor of all the Apostles, Churches, and Christians? Nay farther, it is clear from Gal. i. 12, 17, 18, that St. Paul neither received instruction nor authority to preach the Gospel from St. Peter,|| but immediately from Christ himself, and executed

* V. Euseb. Hist. l. 2. c. 1. de primatu Jacobi. Hic primus episcopalem cathedram cepit; cum ante cæteros omnes suum ei in terris thronum Dominus tradidisset. Epiphani. advers. Hæres. lib. 3. tom. 2. pag. 1039. Jacobus Apostolorum princeps, Ruffinus Hist. lib. 2. cap. 1.

† 2 Cor. xii. 11.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 10.

§ 2 Cor. xi. 28. Yet Stapleton durst write, Petro data est potestas mandativa, atque regiminis. Apostolis potestas executiva, tantum est gubernationis. Doctrin. Princip. lib. 6. c. 7.

|| Cypr. Epist. 71. Nec Petrus super quem Dominus ædificavit Ecclesiam, cum secum Paulus disceptaret, vendicavit se primatum tenere, et obtemperari sibi oportere. Petrus et Paulus ambo principes, Card. Cusanus Epist. 2. de usu Commun. Gal. ii. 11. Erat Paulus princeps Apostolorum honore par Petro, ne quid dicam amplius. Chrysostom in Galat. c. 2. Petrus universalis episcopus non vocatur. Greg. lib. 4. Epist. 32. Paulus ascendit Hierosolimam Petri cognoscendi causa, ex officio et jure scil. ejusdem fidei prædicationis. Tertul. de Præscr. non subjectionis. Matth. xvi. V. Cyprian. Epist. unit. Eccl. in locum hunc. [Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis de unit. Eccl. p. 107. Oxon. 1682.] It is St. Chrysostom's

his apostolic office three years before he ever saw St. Peter's face. Which is furthermore evident and undeniable from Gal. ii. 9, that James is placed before Cephas, or Peter, and Cephas and John gave to Paul the right hand of fellowship, as to one equal in authority with themselves; and in ver. 11. we find Paul withstanding Peter to his face, not seemingly (as St. Jerome thought, opposed therein by St. Augustine), but really and in earnest, for Peter was indeed, as the text saith, to be blamed. All which particulars laid together evince, I think, to any ingenuous man, that St. Peter was not supreme over all the Apostles; for where there is an equality, there can be no supremacy. But St. Paul doth assert and prove himself equal, not inferior, to St. Peter: therefore St. Peter was not supreme, at least St. Paul did not think him to be so. Now if St. Peter had not supreme power over all Christians, how can the Pope pretend to it as succeeding St. Peter in his authority? Can he have more power than St. Peter had? As for those words, "Thou art Peter," &c. it is to be observed that our Saviour saith not, Thou art Peter, and on thee, but "on this rock," *i. e.* this faith thou hast professed, that I am the Son of God, "will I build my Church;" and so many of the Fathers expound it, as I shall shew afterwards. It is true, our Lord promised to give unto Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and accordingly after his resurrection he gave him them; but our Saviour gave them him and the rest of the Apostles all together at the same time, and in the same manner. And as the Christian Church was in the same sense built on Peter, *i. e.* in respect of the faith he taught, so it was equally *pari modo et ex æquo* (as St. Jerome saith) on the rest of the Apostles, agreeable to that of St. Paul, being built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself (not Peter) being the chief corner-stone. It is not therefore true that some affirm, that our Lord gave the keys first to Peter* to be

observation, Sermon de Pentecoste, et Hom. 55. in Matth. Add Hilary, lib. 2. de Trinit. 16. [lib. vi. c. 37. vol. 1. p. 169, Winceb. 1785.] Ambrose in Ephes. cap. 2. Pope Gregory the Great in Psal. cii. 25. Cyril de Trinit. lib. 4. Aug. de Verb. Domini, Ser. 13. Beda in cap. 21. Joan. lib. 1. in Jovinian. Compare Origen in Matth. xvi. Ephes. ii. 20.

* Potestatem Apostoli receperunt immediate a Christo. Francis. de victoria Relect. 2. qu. 2. Conclus. 3 et 4. John xx. 22. Matth. xvi. 16. John xxi. 17. Non Petrus sed Christus Græcis Paulum præfecit. Chrysost. Hom. in 2. cap. ad Galatas. Matth. xxviii. 18, 19. Cum dicitur Petro, Pasce oves meas, ad omnes dicitur. Aug. de agone Christi, c.

communicated by him to the rest of the Apostles. No : the Scripture plainly saith, Christ breathed on them all at once together, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye remit, they are remitted," &c. Here the keys promised to Peter are given not only to him, or first to him to be given to the rest of the Apostles by him, but to all of them together in one and the same breath, without preferring one before another. Neither doth that other place, "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep," prove in the least that Christ committed his whole Church to Peter only, as universal pastor and head of it ; for to feed Christ's sheep, is to teach them with the word of life ; and this is charged immediately and equally on all the Apostles, who had their mission and commission not from Peter, but from Christ himself, saying, "All power is committed to me," &c. "Go ye therefore, teach all nations," &c. Yea, this duty of feeding, as also ruling, implied, as some think, in the word, ποιμαίνειν, is a duty incumbent on all inferior pastors and bishops, as St. Peter himself acknowledgeth, "Feed the flock of God, taking the care thereof," ἐπισκοποῦντες. To this I might add, that St. Paul had a greater part by far of Christ's flock under his pastoral care than St. Peter, for he was the Apostle of the uncircumcision or Gentiles, preaching to them ; Peter of the circumcision or Jewish nation. From all which it is evident, that the Pope, supposing him (which is not at all granted) to succeed Peter in his whole apostolic power, in *plenitudinem potestatis*, it no way follows that he is or can be supreme head of the universal Church. Other Apostles, in their apostolic churches planted by them, being, as to ecclesiastical power, not at all inferior, but equal to him and the Roman Church.

As for a priority of place or order, in regard Rome was at first, before Constantine's days, the seat of the emperor, we deny it not ; but this pre-eminency, as the General Councils at Constantinople and Chalcedon declare, was given by the ancient Fathers and bishops (they say not by any appointment of Christ) in regard it was the imperial city ; of which more hereafter.

30. 1 Pet. v. 2. Acts xx. 28. Gal. ii. Chrysost. at least in eighteen places calls St. Paul τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλον. Casaubon. Exercit. 16. Paulus Apostolorum maximus. Origen. Hom. 3 in Numer. Quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem Christus tribuat, &c. Cypr. de Unitate Ecclesie, Paulus erat Petro ἰσότιμος, nec opus habuit Petro, Chrysost. in Gal. c. 2.

But to put an end to this controversy, we will appeal to an infallible judge, such as the Pope himself shall not refuse, even St. Peter himself,* whose words are these, "Submit yourselves, &c. whether to the king as supreme," &c. If St. Peter acknowledge not himself, but the king, to be supreme, methinks it should ill become his successors to deny kings to be supreme over them. But possibly it will be said St. Peter meant this supremacy only in matters civil, not ecclesiastical. Well, we take what is granted. How is it then consonant to apostolical doctrine, for St. Peter's successors to exempt,† and that in civil matters, all clergymen from the jurisdiction and commands of the king, as if they were not his subjects as well as others? Yea, farther, to absolve the laity also from all obedience to their natural princes, cursing all such as obey them, stirring them up when they think fit to fight against, depose and murder them. Is this to acknowledge the king supreme? Peter did but draw his sword to rescue Christ the Son of God from the hands of murderers, and he is commanded to put it up: and many Popes, as they often have done, command subjects to draw it against their lawful sovereigns? But the king here spoken of was a heathen, even Nero. True. However, all Christians, according to apostolical doctrine, must be subject to their king, though a heathen; and ought they not much rather than to be subject to him being a Christian? St. Paul's precept is general, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers;" which powers were at that time heathens; yet every soul, *i.e.* a synecdoche, every person, though an apostle or evangelist, as St. Chrysostom‡ comments on that text, much more the Pope, ought to be subject.

Possibly some will reply, that the Church, and St. Peter the head of it, had no authority over heathens which are without; but that they had a supremacy over all Christians, and consequently over kings as Christians.

If this exception be of any weight, it unavoidably follows, that whilst Nero was a heathen, St. Peter was his subject,

* 1 Pet. ii. 13.

† Carerius de potestate Pontificis, lib. 2. cap. 23. Cajetan. in Aquin. 2. qu. 99. art. 6. See the R. R. Bishop of Lincoln's Observation on the Pope's Bull against Q. Elizabeth.

‡ *Κάν Ἀπόστολος ἦς, κἄν εὐαγγελίστης, κἄν προφήτης, κἄν ὑπισσύν*. Chrysost. in locum. As also Theodoret, Theophylact et Œcumenius in locum. Add Bernard. Epist. 64. ad Senonensem archiepisc. Qui seipsum excipit, seipsum decipit.

and he sovereign ; but if he had become a Christian, St. Peter was his sovereign, and had the supremacy over him. Was not this an excellent reason to persuade Nero to become a Christian, whereby he must deprive himself of the sovereignty ? The truth is, Christ came not *tollere jura sed peccata mundi*, to take away the sins, not the rights of the meanest subjects, much less of kings ; or in the least to diminish their just authority. The Apostles expressly charge children to be obedient to their parents, servants to their masters, though they were heathens, and themselves Christians.* Dominion is not founded in grace, neither is Christ's kingdom, as he himself professeth, of this world, for then would "my servants fight." He that gives kings converted a crown of glory, deprives not them of their earthly one, or any due right belonging to it. Obedience therefore in all things, either active or passive, is necessarily to be yielded unto them as supreme governors.

VIII. Eighthly, Concerning a real and proper sacrifice of Christ in the mass or holy eucharist, it is expressly contradicted in the Scripture, especially by St. Paul, Heb. vii. 27 ; ix. 25, 26, 27, 28 ; x. 10. In which places the blessed Apostle distinguisheth Christ's sacrifice from, and prefers it before the Levitical ones, in regard they were reiterated and often repeated, not so this ; but by once offering of himself, once offered up by himself, and once for all, "he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."† As then men properly can die no more than once, so Christ can be properly sacrificed no more but once. It is St. Paul's own argument. In the mass therefore Christ is not properly sacrificed. Mark what an absurdity in the Apostles' judgment would follow thereupon. If Christ should be offered by himself, or others often, more than once, then must he have often suffered. But Christ hath suffered once, and cannot suffer again.‡ Therefore he is not offered again by himself, or by any priest in the mass, as a proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, which our adversaries affirm. Yea, if Christ were truly and properly sacrificed in the mass, he must necessarily suffer death a thousand times over ; for sacrificing any living thing, and such is Christ, to God, implieth killing and taking away the life of what is sacrificed, as the very name *Sacrificium* from *Sacrare* noteth.§

* 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2.

† Heb. ix. 27, 28.

‡ Heb. ix. 26.

§ Ad verum sacrificium requiritur, ut plane destruat, et ipa etiam substantia consumatur. Bellar. lib. 1. de Missa, cap. 2. [tom. 3. de Sac. Euch. lib. 5. p. 416, ut supra.]

But I hope Romanists will not say they kill Christ in the mass. If they deny it, then Christ is not there properly sacrificed ; if they should attempt it, the thing is impossible ; for Christ, being now impassible and in a glorified state, can die no more, as we read, Rom. vi. 9. When then they distinguish of sacrificing Christ in a bloody and unbloody manner, and say they offer up and sacrifice him *incruente*, without bloodshed, they yield the cause ; for all proper sacrificing implieth destruction, as Bellarmine grants ;* or, if it be a living thing, the shedding the blood is killing of what is sacrificed, for without shedding of blood there is no remission.

If by their sacrificing Christ in the mass, they mean only a representation to God or ~~man~~ of Christ's bloody sacrifice of the cross, or a commemoration of his death, termed, 1 Cor. xi. 26, a shewing and setting it forth visibly and sacramentally, by eating of that bread and drinking of that cup, we should not oppose them ; but representation or commemoration of Christ's death is one thing, and proper sacrificing his body and blood, really, corporally, and carnally, as it was on the cross, is quite another.

As for Bellarmine's reply, that Christ is sacrificed, not under the likeness of a living thing, but of bread which hath no life ; and therefore there is no necessity he should be slain or killed in the mass,† it signifies nothing. For I ask, is the likeness of bread only offered up to God as a propitiatory sacrifice, or Christ himself, his body and blood, who is a living person ; yea, liveth for ever ? If bread only, it is blasphemous to make it a propitiatory sacrifice for sin. If Christ himself, who is a living person, be truly and properly sacrificed, he must be truly and properly slain.

As for their usual pretence, that masses apply to us the virtue and merits of Christ's passion, I answer, that the sacrament of the eucharist is abundantly sufficient thereunto, and peculiarly instituted to that very purpose ; “for the bread that we break, is it not the communion or communication of the body of Christ, and the cup of blessing that we bless, the communion of the blood of Christ ?” And what is the com-

* De Missa, l. i. cap. ult. [Ibid.]

† Bellarmine placeth the essence of the sacrifice of the mass in the priest's manducation or eating, and consumption, not of the substance of Christ's body, but the accidents or appearance of bread only, de Missa, l. i. c. ult. [ut supra, p. 459.] But a true sacrifice requirerh a consumption of its substance, as is above by him granted. Ergo.

munion or communication of Christ's body and blood broken and shed for the remission of our sins, but the communication or application of the merits of both unto us in order thereunto? So that the reiteration of Christ's sacrifice of himself on the cross is altogether unnecessary.

IX. As to the ninth article of Pope Pius's Creed, that it is not necessary to receive both bread and cup in the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, it is so plainly and almost palpably contrary to the institution, example and command of Christ himself, as also the apostolical tradition of St. Paul, that it is a wonder how any Christians dare own any such doctrine. "Take, eat, drink; do this in remembrance of me;" so our Lord at the first institution of it. St. Paul repeats this institution to the Corinthians, commending it to the observation of the whole Church, laity as well as clergy; joineth eating of the bread and drinking of the cup together, four several times in four verses, 1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, 28, 29, layeth down an express apostolic canon, "Let a man examine himself," &c. What man? An Apostle only? or a consecrating priest? No: but any ordinary Christian capable of this sacrament. Well, what is then to be done? "Let him eat of that bread," as it is his necessary and indispensable duty to do; but is that all? No: for he addeth, "And let him" (whether layman or cleric, whether consecrator or not) "also drink of that cup. For as often as ye" (Christians in general) "eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shew forth" (as is your duty to do, and which otherwise you do not) "the Lord's death till he come." Doth it not look like antichristianism, for Christ's vicar to presume to alter, mutilate, or in any substantial part (as the cup in the eucharist* is acknowledged to be) to abrogate the Lord's institution and command? How dare any Christian divide asunder what Christ and St. Paul have joined together? The receiving the cup is as necessary to any Christian, cleric or laic, as the sacred bread. By the same reason the Church of Rome forbids the laity one, they may both; for both are equally commanded, both are as necessary as either. The Romish pretended power to dispense with the laws of God, and to alter the institutions of Christ, is

* *Panis et vinum ad essentiam sacramenti pertinent. Bellarmin. de Euchar. lib. 4. cap. 6. V. Concil. Trident. Panis et vinum non tam essentielles quam integrales hujus sacramenti partes videntur. Bellarmin. de Euchar. lib. 4. cap. 22. [ut supra, p. 387.] Sine vino igitur sacramentum non integre administratur.*

alone a sufficient argument to discover how little they regard the apostolical doctrine or primitive practice of the Church ; from which, as we see, they have manifestly departed. In a word, if the Pope and his Councils have power to alter and dispense with, yea, countermand Christ's express laws and institutions, then there is nothing fixed or certain in Christian religion ; but it is made, as a learned traveller observes,* a mere piece of human policy, to be framed, altered and modelled, at the wills and pleasures of men ; which directly tends to promote atheism ; for which crime Italians are notorious.

Thus, I hope, I have made it evident to any unprejudiced persons, that the nine Articles above-mentioned, which Pope Pius, not two hundred years ago, added to the old Nicene Creed, as parts of the true catholic apostolic faith, without which no salvation was to be had or expected, are errors and corruptions of it, contrary to the doctrine that the holy Apostles have delivered to them and us in their writings. So that I may justly ask them, where was your Creed and Church before Pope Pius, who was hardly so old as Luther ?

I might add several other doctrines and practices as contrary to Scripture (if I understand anything in it) as darkness is to light ; particularly that unreasonable service of God in a tongue the people do not understand. Can anything be more plainly contradictory to the whole fourteenth chapter of 1 Cor. Doth not St. Paul there condemn all speaking, whether in sermons, prayers or thanksgivings in the church in an unknown tongue ? ver. 2. Unknown, not to God, who knows all things, even sermons in Latin, Greek, or any tongue else, but to men. He prefers prophesying, *i. e.* preaching or expounding the Scripture, before tongues, *i. e.* strange and not understood by the hearers, for this very reason, because he that speaketh in an unknown tongue, speaketh to God, not unto men, for no man understandeth him ; howbeit in the Spirit, *i. e.* by a miraculous gift of the Spirit, as the gift of tongues was,† he speaketh mysteries, *i. e.* profound and admirable truths. But he that prophesyeth in a known tongue, speaketh unto men to edification, exhortation and comfort. He that speaketh in unknown tongue edifieth himself, not the church.‡ But St. Paul would have the whole church edified or profited by whatever is spoken. Hence he commands,

* Sir Edward Sandys' *Europæ Speculum*

† Ver. 3.

‡ Ver. 4.

ver. 26, all things to be done to edification, and forbids any one to use his miraculous gift of tongues in the church, unless he interpret what he saith, or another for him, that so the church may receive edifying, *i. e.* spiritual profit, being built up in their most holy faith. Is it not as clear as the day at noon, that, according to St. Paul's doctrine, there is no profit or edification redounding to the people by whatsoever is spoken in the church in an unknown tongue? Neither doth he in that chapter speak only of sermons (Papists themselves are not so absurd as to preach in Latin to the people) or private conferences, as Bellarmine would evade, he speaketh generally of whatever is spoken in the church, it must be in a tongue known to the people, that so the people may be profited by it, in regard else they are not edified or profited at all. Neither doth he speak of sermons only, but prayers and thanksgivings. Hence, ver. 15, 16, "I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also." So that in St. Paul's judgment it is necessary to pray and sing praises, as David saith,* with understanding. Then he adds, "Else when thou shalt bless (God) with the Spirit," *i. e.* by an extraordinary gift of strange tongues, bestowed by the Spirit on many in those days, "how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen to thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?" Where two things are as plain as if they had been written with a sunbeam. First, that St. Paul in that chapter discourseth not of sermons or conferences only, but prayers and hymns. Secondly, that the unlearned cannot, as they ought, say Amen to prayers or hymns of thanksgivings they understand not.† We use, as the ancient Church did, to say Amen to prayers, not to sermons or conferences. So that St. Paul expressly condemns prayers in an unknown tongue, used at this day by the Roman Church in her Latin service. And there is ground to think this is one reason why they suffer not the laity to read the Scriptures, lest they should by them discern this amongst other of their palpable, erroneous and corrupt practices. This may be a second instance that the Romish religion is not apostolical.

* Psalm xlvii. 7.

† Justin. Martyr. Apol. 2. [Apol. 2. p. 82, 83. Paris, 1742.] Hieron. in Epist. ad Galatas. lib. 2. in præfat. [Vol. 7. p. 427, 428. Veron. 1757.] [Vid. Aquin. Comment. in 1. ad Corinth. c. 14. sect. 5, p. 95. col. 4. 1528.] [Clem. Alexand. Strom: 7. p. 848. Venet. 1757.]

“ For what can be more contrary to our Saviour’s command, John v. 39, “ Search the Scriptures,” &c. and that of St. Paul, Coloss. iii. 16, “ Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding?”* yea, to the very end of God’s giving the Scriptures, than to forbid the generality of the people to read them, lest they should by it become heretics, *i. e.* Protestants? Did St. Paul write his Epistles to the learned or clergy only at Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, &c. and not to the whole Church? Yea, doth he not adjure them at Thessalonica† to cause his Epistle to be read, not only to the rulers or elders of the Church, but to all the holy brethren or saints? Might they hear what was written to them, but not read it? Were they not Greeks, and did not St. Paul write unto them ‡ in their own vulgar tongue? To what end, if not that they should read it? Otherwise, surely he would have written to them in Hebrew or Syriac, for he had the gift of many tongues.

But say some politicians, the common people are apt to mistake, and to wrest the Scriptures to heresies and their own destruction.

To which I answer, first, if the Scripture§ be so apt to be misunderstood, and do more hurt than good, why should we look upon them as a singular blessing of God to his Church? Secondly, do only unlearned men wrest the Scriptures? We know the old heretics, as Arius, Nestorius, Pelagius, &c. were neither unlearned nor laics. Thirdly, why did St. Paul, if the Scripture be so dangerous to the common people, command his Epistle to be read to all the holy brethren? Might they not mistake his true meaning by hearing it read, as well as reading it? Lastly, I answer, the Church of God is not to be governed by the late policies of men, but by the laws of Christ, and the example of the Primitive Church; who, although many damnable heresies arose in those ages,§ and were colourably maintained by the Scripture, as Julian the apostate objected, yet never forbade any man to read the Scripture, but

* V. Claudium Espensæum in Titum. cap. 2. † 1 Thess. v. 27.

‡ Plus inde ob hominum temeritatem detrimenti, quam utilitatis oriri, &c. Index librorum prohib. Reg. 1. [De lib. Prohib. Reg. IV. p. 433. Paris. 1837.]

§ Cyril. contra Julian. lib. 6. Hom. 2 in Matth. Chrysost. Hom. 3. in Lazarum Hom. 9. in Coloss. [in 2 Thess. Hom. 3. vol. ii. p. 528. Par. 1734.] Hieron. Epist. ad Eustochium, Salvinam, Celantiam, in Epitaphio Paulæ.

exhorted and encouraged the laity, even women, to do it. A licence to read the Scriptures would have been looked upon in those days as a prodigious novelty. Because many people receive the sacrament of Christ's body and blood unworthily to their own damnation : may therefore the laity be wholly and generally kept as well from that bread, as they are by Romanists from that cup, unless they have a special licence from the Church ? But concerning the judgment and practice of primitive times we shall say more by and by. I might add more instances, but these may suffice to make good my first assertion, that the present Roman faith or religion is not grounded on the holy Scriptures.

The second thing I am obliged to shew is, that the points above-mentioned are no parts of the true ancient catholic faith, or were so esteemed by the holy Fathers and Councils for at least four or five hundred years after Christ, but rather condemned and rejected by them.

I will begin with the doctrine of the seven sacraments.* The ancient Fathers, when they treat of the sacraments of the Church in the strict and proper sense of the word (for it is equivocal), mention two only, *viz.* Baptism and the Lord's supper. These Justin Martyr, in the end of his Second Apology, where he describeth the public service of the Church on the Lord's day, takes notice of, and none of the other five. Chrysostom, Cyril and Theophylact on John xix. as also Ambrose,† Austin and Damascen write, that the water and blood that came out of our Saviour's side, signified the sacraments of the Church, *viz.* the water, baptism ; and the blood, the eucharist. Irenæus nowhere mentions any more sacraments than these two. St. Augustine saith, Christ hath left us a very few sacraments, *numero paucissima*, baptism and the eucharist. It is true the Fathers sometimes term confirmation, orders, &c. sacraments ; but then they use the word in a more large sense, as when they call the doctrines of the Trinity, incarnation, &c. sacraments, *i. e.* mysteries. Our Saviour's washing his disciples' feet, the sign of the cross, yea, polygamy, are sometimes honoured by Cyprian,‡ Augus-

* V. Augustin. de Symbolo. Ambros. de Sacram.* [Card. Richelieu hence grants there are properly but two, Examen Pacific.] Epist. 118. ad Januar.

† V. Ambros. de Sacram. Incarnation.

‡ V. Cyprian. de ablution. pedum. Aug. de bono Conjug. l. 18. et lib. 1. cont. Faust. c. 14.

tine, Bernard,* with the name of sacraments, *i. e.* sacred or mystical signs. In which sense there may be not only seven but seventeen sacraments. But to avoid falling into a *logomachia*, or strife about words, it is agreed, as Bellarmine himself grants, that the essential note of a proper sacrament† is to communicate justifying grace. Do holy orders communicate justifying grace, or matrimony either? If the latter, I wonder why they should prohibit it the clergy. If the former, surely there would not be found sons of Eli or Belial in their Church, who know not the Lord. But enough of this at present.

Secondly, the ancient Fathers did not believe or teach the doctrine of transubstantiation,‡ *i. e.* that by consecration the substance of the bread and wine cease to be, and are turned into the very substance of the body and blood of Christ, which he now hath being at the right hand of God.

Ignatius§ saith, "that in the holy eucharist one and the same bread is administered to all."

Justin Martyr|| calleth it bread and wine after consecration, and saith, "our flesh and blood are nourished by them." I adjoin, but mere accidents cannot nourish our bodies. Therefore the true substance of bread and wine still remain. Our adversaries dare not affirm that our bodies are nourished by transmutation of Christ's body into our flesh and blood, and all proper nutriment of human bodies must be by some substance. He addeth a little after, that the deacon used to carry to the sick bread and wine to be received at their own houses. Irenæus¶ declarcth that the eucharist consists of two things, one terrestrial, *viz.* the elements of bread and wine; the other celestial, *viz.* Christ's body and blood.

* Bernard. de Cœna Domini.

† De Sacram. l. 1. c. 11. ["Quinta definitio est Catechismi Concilii Tridentini Sacramentum est res sensibus subjecta quæ ex Dei institutione sanctitatis et justitiæ tum significandæ tum efficiendæ vim habet." Quæ definitio pulcherrima est. vol. 3. p. 15. ut supra.] Costerus Enchir. p. 340. Peter Lombard and Durandus say, "Matrimony confers not grace." See Cassander. Art. 14.

‡ Alphonsus de Castro de Hæres. lib. 8. [p. 578. ut supra.] saith the same. It was first taught by Paschasius, anno 818. See Bellarmin. de Script.

§ Ad Philadelphien.

|| [Apol. 1. s. 65. p. 82. Paris. 1742.] In Apol. 2. τροφή ἐξ ἧς σάρκες ἡμῶν τρέφονται. In like manner Irenæus, lib. 5. c. 12. [Advers. Hæreses. c. 2. p. 396. Edit. Grab.] Bellarmin. lib. 2. de Euch. cap. 4. ad finem. V. Bonavent. l. 4. Sent. Dist. 12. art. 3. qu. 1.

¶ Iren. lib. 4. adv. Hær. c. 34. Ex duabus rebus constat, terrena et celesti.

Clemens Alexandrinus* understood those words, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man," in a symbolical or figurative sense; and disputing against the Encratites, who condemned all use of wine, he confutes them, from the example of our Saviour, who drank in the holy eucharist of the fruit of the vine. An evident proof that Clemens did not believe any transubstantiation of the substance of the wine into the very blood of Christ.

Tertullian disputing against Marcion, who held that Christ had not a real but fantastic body only (as Romanists speak of the sacramental elements, which seem only to be what in truth they are not), draws an argument from the eucharist, saying, a figure of a body argues a true body (in another place, Christ represented by bread his body); but Christ taking bread made it his body, saying, "This is my body," i.e. the figure of my body. So Tertullian understood it. Marcion† might easily have retorted this argument, if the substance of bread remained not in the sacrament, by saying, as the bread in the sacrament seems to be bread, but is not truly and really so; in like manner Christ's body appeared to be a true human body, but was not really what it seemed.

Origen,‡ in his third Dialogue against Marcion, uses the same argument, and in his seventh Homily on Levit. he saith, * in the Gospel there is the letter which killeth him who understandeth not spiritually. If according to the letter you take those words, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man," &c. *occidet hæc litera*, this letter or literal sense will kill you. And in another place he is not afraid to affirm, that the consecrated elements, according to what is material in them, go into the belly, and so into the draught, which it were horrible blasphemy to affirm of Christ's natural body. But he ascribes it to his sacramental, typical or symbolical body, as he there calls it.

* Pæd. l. 1. cap. 6. [p. 76. Lugd. 1616.] διὰ συμβόλων τὸ αἷμα οἶνον ἀλληγορεῖται. Pædag. l. 2. c. 2. in fine, [Ibid. p. 111.] Τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα, αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου.

† In Marcion. lib. 1. c. 14. Representat corpus suum pane. Ad Marcion. l. 4. c. 4. [iv. 40. vol. 1. p. 532. Edit. Wirceb. 1780.] Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est figura corporis mei. V. lib. 3. in Marcion. c. 19. corporis sui figuram pani dedisse.

‡ V. Hom. 9. Si secundum literam sequaris, occidit hæc litera. Hom. 7. [s. 5. vol. 6. p. 126. Edit. Wirceb.] In cap. xvii. Matth. Juxta id quod habet materiale. Hæc de typico symbolicoque corpore. [Vid. comment. a Matth. xy. 11. vol. xi. s. 14. Edit. Wirceb. x. 462.]

Cyprian* disputing against the Aquarii, who would not use wine, but water only in the holy eucharist, argueth in this manner, where there is no wine in the cup, the blood of Christ cannot be expressed, for we see the blood to be shewn (*ostendi*) in the wine. And in his comment upon the Lord's Prayer he applies those words, "Give us this day our daily bread," to the sacramental bread. The same Cyprian† declares, in his sermon of the Lord's supper, what manner of body is in the sacrament of the eucharist, when he saith, who continually, even to this present day, doth create, sanctify and bless his body, distributing the same to godly receivers. Now it is undeniable that Christ's very own proper body is not continually created, sanctified, or blessed.

The words of Athanasius‡ are very remarkable: "Our Lord distinguisheth the spirit from the flesh, that we might learn that the words he spake, John vi. were not carnal, but spiritual. For to how many men was his body enough to eat, that it should become the food of the whole world? But therefore he mentions his ascension into heaven, that he might draw us off from a corporeal sense, and thenceforward should understand his flesh he spake of, as heavenly and spiritual food, *πνευματικὴν τροφήν*, 'for the words I speak to you are spirit and life;' as if he had said, my body, which is shewn and given for the world, is given for food, that it may be spiritually, *πνευματικῶς*, communicated to every one."

Cyril of Jerusalem§ saith, under the type, *τύπος*, of bread, Christ's body is given thee, and under the type of wine his blood.

Nazianzen termeth the bread and wine *ἀντίτυπα*, antitypes of Christ's body and blood. In like manner Dionysius Areopagites and Basil in his Liturgy.

But I must not forget Gregory Nyssen: || as, saith he, the

* Epist. 63. [Epist. 63. ad Cæcilianum. Edit. Wirceb. 1782. vol. i. 190.] Vinum quo Christi sanguis ostenditur.

† Veracissimum et sanctissimum creat, et corpus suum sanctificat. De coena Dom.

‡ Ad Serapion. De Spir. S. In cap. vi. Joan. [vol. ii. p. 979. Paris. 1627.] V. Cyprian de Coena Dom. et August. de verbis Apost. Serm. 2. tom. 10. spiritualiter intelligenda sunt, nisi manducaveritis carnem, &c. Aug. Tract. 27 in Joan. ubi plura.

§ Mystagog. lib. 4. where he granteth that in John vi. &c. "Except ye eat," is to be understood, *πνευματικῶς*, spiritually. [p. 237. Paris. 1631.]

|| In laudem Gorgoniae. Orat. in Baptis. [In Baptism. Christi Orat. p. 802, 803. Paris. 1615.]

altar is by nature a common stone, but being consecrated to God's service is made an holy table; and as the eucharistical bread is at first common bread, but when the mystery, *i.e.* mystical prayer of consecration hath sanctified it, is called and is the body of Christ. As the priest to-day a common man, by benediction is made a teacher of piety, and nothing changed in body, hath his soul transformed by invisible grace; so the water in baptism, when it is nothing else but water, by the heavenly blessing of grace reneweth a man. Where it is evident Gregory Nyssen alloweth no other transubstantiation in the eucharist than in baptism, the ordination of a priest, or the consecration of an altar.

Chrysostom, in his epistle to Cæsarius (which is to be seen in the Florentine Library,* as Peter Martyr, a Florentine, witnesseth, as also in the University Library at Oxford), writeth after this manner: Before the bread be sanctified, we call it bread; but the divine grace sanctifying it, we call it the Lord's body, although the nature of bread remain. These words directly overthrow transubstantiation. In another place the same Father discourses after this manner: if it be so dangerous to apply to private uses these hallowed vessels, in the which is not the very true body of Christ, but only the mystery of his body is contained, &c. much more our bodies to sin: adding, that we ought to climb up into heaven when we receive the communion, if we would have the fruition of Christ's body, yea rather, above the heavens; for, saith he in another place, "wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together." The Lord is the carcass, because of his death; and this is a table for mounting eagles, not for prattling jays.

I shall now add the words of St. Ambrose, who discoursing of our Saviour's celebrating the holy sacrament with his disciples, breaking bread, and giving it to them, saying, "Take, eat, this is my body," &c. adds, As ye have received the similitude of my death, so drink also the similitude of my precious blood.† This oblation is the figure of the body and

* Which is published since this author wrote. See the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England in answer to the Bishop of Meaux, in Append. [vol. 3. p. 897. c. Paris, 1835.] It is quoted by Damascen. contra Acephalos. Etiam si natura panis permansit. Hom. 11. in Matth. V. Athanas. ad Serap. de SS. Comment. in 1 Cor. x. V. Chrysost. Hom. 46. in Joan.

† Stent mortis similitudinem sumpsisti, ita etiam similitudinem pretiosi sanguinis. De Sacramentis, lib. 4. cap. 5. [cap. 4. vol. 5. pp. 229-231.]

blood of the Lord. In another place, Christ is touched by faith, not bodily.

Let us now hear Theodoret's testimony :* Our Saviour, saith he, in the institution of the eucharist, changed the names (not natures) of things, and applied, that to his body which belonged to the symbol or sign of it, and to the sign what appertained to his body, which he did, that such as partake of the divine mysteries should not be attent on the nature of those things they see, but by the change of names should believe that mutation which is made by grace. For he (that is, Christ) that called what is by nature a body, wheat or bread, the same honoured the signs or symbols with the names of his body and blood, not changing their nature, but adding grace to nature. And when the Eutychian heretic† would hence draw an argument, that as the signs of Christ's body and blood are one thing before consecration, another after it ; so our Lord's body, after its union to his divine person, ceased to be in substance what it appeared, and was changed into the divine nature of the Godhead. Theodoret‡ replieth upon him, you are taken in your own net ; for the mystical signs, after consecration, recede not from their former nature, but remain in their former substance, form and appearance. Mark : he saith, not only in their former form and appearance, but in their substance also. This is an irrefragable testimony against the novel doctrine of transubstantiation.

I will add the words of Gelasius, who was, as some say, bishop of Rome ; but however, one that lived towards the latter end of the fifth century. His words are plain in his books against Eutyches and Nestorius.§ The sacraments we receive of Christ's body and blood are divine things, by which we are made partakers of the divine nature, and yet the substance or nature of bread and wine ceaseth not : and indeed the image of the body and blood of Christ, in the sacramental participation is celebrated. We must therefore think that of

Venet. 1781.] *Hæc oblatio est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini. Ibid. Fide tangitur Christus, non corpore.*

* In Lucam, lib. 6. cap. 8. So St. Jerome in Psal. 1. *Dei tui corpus et sanguinem mente continge, cordis manu suscipe.*

† Dial. 1. 8. *Οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς.* [Dial. 1. Edit. Hal. 1772. vol. 4. p. 26.]

‡ *Οὐ κῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ εἶδους.* [Dial. ii. Ibid. iv. pp. 126, 127.]

§ Lib. de duabus Christi naturis. [In Bibl. Patrum, p. 3. vol. v. p. 671. Edit. Colon. 1618.]

Christ our Lord, which we profess, celebrate, and take in his image, *i.e.* the sacramental signs of his body and blood, that as these, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, pass into a divine substance, and yet remain in the propriety of their own nature;* so that great mystery of the incarnation, whose virtue they represent, shews one whole true Christ, consisting of two natures properly remaining.

I. I purposely conclude with St. Augustine,† who hath, with the consent of the more ancient Fathers, delivered several things which utterly overthrow the present Roman article of faith, transubstantiation. As, first, that Christ's body or flesh is not to be eaten in a proper, carnal, oral, but figurative and spiritual sense; not by the mouth of the body, but by faith, the mouth of the soul. For having laid it down as a general rule, that whensoever the Scripture seems to command any thing wicked or flagitious, we must understand it as a figurative and improper form of speech, he instanceth in those words, "Unless ye eat of the flesh of the Son of man," &c. *Figura est ergo*, it is therefore, saith he, a figure, requiring us to communicate in Christ's passion sweetly and profitably, remembering that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us. The same is affirmed by Cyprian, *de cæna Domini*, as often as we do this in remembrance of him, we whet not our teeth to bite, but with a sincere faith we break the holy bread. Which is, saith he, *Cibus non dentis aut ventris, sed mentis*, meat not of the mouth or teeth, but mind. In like manner Cyril. *Catech. Mystag.* 4. Ambrose *de Sacramentis*, lib. i. cap. 4. Idem. *Serm.* 58. *et in Lucæ*, cap. 10. v. 24. Besides others of the Fathers I shall not now mention.

II. Secondly, He expressly affirmeth, that wicked men, in the sacrament, do not eat Christ's body or drink his blood. Of the Lord's table, saith he, some receive to life, others to damnation; but the thing whereof it is a sacrament, every

* *Tamen non desinit esse substantia vel natura panis et vini imago et similitudo, &c.* In ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus et sumimus. Permanent tamen in sua proprietate. The same is affirmed by the Patriarch Ephraim, in Photii Bibliotheca Cod. 129.

† Tract. 25. in Joan. Basil. in Psalm xxxiii. saith the same. Lib. 3. de Doctrin. Christ. cap. 16. [vol. iii. p. 91. Paris. 1836.] Flagitium jubere videtur. Nolite parare fauces sed Cor. Nos non tangimus Christum, sed credimus. Augustin. Serm. 33. in Lucam. [Aug. in Ps. iii. l. vol. iv. p. 7. Paris. 1691. Enarratio in Ps. xviii. l. vol. iv. p. 1866.] Devorandus auditu, ruminandus intellectu, fide digerendus, Tertul. de Resur.

man receives to life, none to death.* To eat that meat and to drink that drink, our Saviour explaineth when he saith, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me;" whence he that dwelleth not in Christ (*proculdubio*) questionless neither eats nor drinks spiritually, although he carnally and visibly press with his teeth the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; but rather eats and drinks the sacrament of so great a thing to his own condemnation, because being unclean, he presumes to come to the sacrament of Christ. "Whosoever eateth me, shall live by me." In another place:† he that is at discord with Christ, or an enemy to Christ, neither eateth his body, nor drinketh his blood, although he daily receive indifferently (as if there were no difference betwixt that bread and common bread) the sacrament of so great a thing to the punishment of his own presumption. Which is no more than what Origen had written long before him on Matth. xv.‡ where he saith, if it were possible for any wicked man, persevering such, to eat the Word made flesh, seeing he is the living bread, it would not have been written, "Whosoever eateth this bread, shall live for ever." St. Jerome, in Jerem. lib. 4. cap. 22. and also cap. 66. in Esai. affirms the same, saying, "that heretics do not eat the body, or drink the blood of Christ in the sacrament, because then they should have everlasting life."

III. Thirdly, St. Augustine having expressly affirmed,§ that our fathers, the patriarchs and prophets under the law, did eat the same spiritual meat, and drink the same spiritual drink with us under the Gospel, *i. e.* Christ; "for they drank of that rock which followed them, and that rock (St. Paul says) was Christ," Tract. 26. on John. contr. Faustum. lib. 19. cap. 16. Whence it undeniably follows, that the eating of Christ's flesh in an oral carnal manner, is not necessary to salvation; which before Christ's incarnation was impossible, as it is now unprofitable.

* Tract. 26. in Joan. Cyprian de Coena saith the same. Compare Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 21. c. 25. [Paris. 1836.]

† Non dicitur qui manducat digne, sed qui manducat me. Cajetan in locum.

‡ Sentent. 339. Qui discordat a Christo, non corpus ejus manducat, &c. V. Ambros. de iis qui mysteriis initiantur, cap. 9.

§ In signis diversis eadem fides. Aug. Tract. 45. [vol. 3. p. 2132. Paris. 1837. In Joannem, Tract. 26. vol. 3. p. 1984. Paris. 1837.] in Joan. ubi plura legas. Lib. 20. cont. Faustum, c. 21.

IV. Fourthly, St. Augustine, * Epist. *ad Dardanum*, writeth, "that Christ's body being a true human body, necessarily taketh up a space answerable to its quantity; and saith, that to deny a body to take up a space, is to deny it to be a true body: and adds, that the body of Christ is not every where, but in a certain determinate place." Whereby he utterly overthrows the doctrine of transubstantiation, the possibility of eating and chewing, or, which is all one, the swallowing down whole Christ's body, that it should be in a thousand places at once, and should be contained whole under the least piece of wafer. Which is, in effect, to revive the heresy of Marcion and the Manichees, who denied the verity of Christ's body, turning it into a phantasm, sprite, or spirit. But I cannot omit his words upon xcviith Psalm, where he brings in our Saviour speaking thus to his Apostles:† "Ye shall not eat this body ye see, nor drink that blood that my crucifiers shall shed. I have commended to you a sacrament, which being spiritually understood, *spiritualiter intellectum*, shall give you life." What can possibly be said more plainly by any Protestant against transubstantiation? Our adversaries answer, that they did eat the very same body which they did see, but not *eodem modo*, not in a mortal, visible, but in an invisible, immortal and impassible manner. Which answer signifies nothing: for although not in the same manner, yet they grant the very same body was really and substantially eaten by the Apostles, which they saw present with them at the table, and that not in a spiritual and sacramental, but in a corporal, carnal, and substantial sense, which perfectly contradicts what St. Augustine there saith, "Ye shall not eat the body ye see," &c. Again, I would gladly be resolved whether the Apostles did eat Christ's very body then present as mortal or immortal. If as mortal and passible, then they did eat it, *eodem modo*, after the same manner as it was there present and seen by them; if as immortal, how did Christ's body really die upon the cross?

* Epist. 57. Tolle a corporibus locorum spatia, et nusquam erunt. Christus ubique per id quod Deus est, in cœlo autem per id quod homo est, &c.

† Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis. Sacramentum vobis commendavi, &c. Compare Cyprian de Uctione Chrismatis. Christus tradidit Discipulis figuram corporis sui. Augustin. in Psal. iii. [vol. iv. p. 7. Paris. 1691.] Non hoc corpus quod videtis, manducaturi estis. Sacramentum commendavi vobis, quod spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos. Epist. 23. [In Ps. 98.]

And then it must be granted that Christ's body was immortal before his resurrection or ascension. I will only add, that I be not too tedious, his words in his epistle to Boniface,* "If sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of those things of which they are sacraments, they would be no sacraments. From this similitude, for the most part, they receive the names of the things they themselves represent. As then, *secundum quendam modum*, after some manner the sacrament of Christ's body is his body, so the sacrament of faith is faith." Thus I hope I have made it evident, that the present doctrine of transubstantiation is no part of the primitive and catholic faith; which the Fathers, in the five first centuries after Christ, owned not, but refuted and condemned it.

I know very well that many things are objected against us out of the Fathers, that Ignatius, Justin Martyr and Irenæus affirm, that the bread and wine in the holy eucharist is the body, flesh and blood of Christ; yea, as Cyprian and St. Ambrose declare,† that they are changed, though not in show or effigies, yet in nature; that they remain what they were, and yet are changed into another thing. To all which in brief I answer, that we question not the truth of him that said, "This is my body." We unfeignedly grant it is so, *secundum quendam modum*, as Augustine above,‡ in a true and sacramental, though not literal and proper sense. We undoubtedly believe, on St. Paul's infallible authority, that the rock in the wilderness, of which the Israelites drank, was Christ; he saith not, as St. Augustine somewhere observes, it signified Christ, but it was Christ; yet no man is so simple as to understand those words not in a figurative and improper, but a proper and literal sense. Furthermore we grant with Cyprian,§ that the bread and wine are not changed in outward show, yet in nature (taking the word nature in a general sense, as when we say, a man becoming more kind and civil, he is grown better natured), in regard of common bread and wine they are changed and converted into an holy sacrament, wherein we have communion

* Ex hac similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Compare Quæst. in Levit. lib. 3. cap. 57. Sicut scriptum est, septem spice septem anni sunt. Non enim dixit septem annos significant.

† De Cœna Domini. De Sacram.

‡ Epist. 23.

§ Petra erat Christus. Non dixit, Petra significat Christum, &c. Questiones in Levit. l. 3. c. 37.

with, or real, though spiritual, communication of the body and blood of Christ. In like manner we subscribe to that of Ambrose, that they remain what they are, *i. e.* as to substance (which directly overthrows transubstantiation), and yet are changed into other things as to use and quality. When, in and by the resurrection, a natural, mortal and corruptible body is turned into a spiritual and immortal one, we all grant the nature of it is changed; yet no good Christian will deny but that it remains for substance the very same body.

I know also our adversaries much urge the sayings of Hilary and Cyril of Alexandria, "that, by virtue of the eucharist, Christ's body and blood is corporally and naturally united to us."* But this is impertinently alleged; for they speak not of the union of Christ's body and blood to the outward elements of bread and wine, but to the souls and bodies of all faithful communicants, and to them only, who thereby become bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. In a word, as the Fathers say Christ's body is in us, so our bodies are in him; not only by faith and charity, but in very deed.† And if it be so, that our substance is not turned into Christ's substance, why should we think that the substance of the bread must be changed into the substance of Christ's body? or that his body should be any more corporally in our body, than our body is in his?

Lastly, They vehemently press the sayings of Chrysostom, and other of the Fathers in their popular Homilies, who say, in the holy sacrament, "we see, touch, and eat Christ's body, that our tongues are made red with his blood, even that blood which did flow from his side on the cross, that what he suffered not on the cross, he suffers in the sacrament, *viz.* his body to be broken with our teeth. Dost thou see bread and wine in the sacrament? Think it not."‡ In like manner Cyril of Jerus. *Mystag.* But such hyperbolical expressions used by the Fathers to stir up devotion, and preserve an high reverence of the sacrament in the minds of their hearers, are not to be taken, as our adversaries well know, in a strict, literal, and

* Lib. 6. de Trin. in Concil. Ephes.

† V. Ambros. de Sacram. l. 4. c. 4. August. Tract. 1. in Epist. Joan. Sicut Christus in nobis hic, ita nos ibi in illo simus.

‡ Hom. 63. in Matth. [vol. 7. p. 883. Paris. 1836.] Hom. 63. in Matth. Hom. 60. ad Populum Antiochen. Hom. 45. in Joann. Hom. 24. in 1 Epist. ad Corinth. [Hom. de prod. Jud. vol. 2. p. 454. ut supra.] Vid. Aug.

dogmatical sense. No Papist, according to his own principles, can rationally hold, that Christ's body is corporally pressed, pierced, or touched by men's teeth, or that their tongues are dyed red with his blood, seeing they affirm, that Christ's body is there, *incruente*, in an unbloody manner; insomuch that they acknowledge those words in Berengarius's recantation, though drawn up by the Pope, *viz.* "that Christ's flesh in the sacrament is sensually pressed or torn by men's teeth," must be cautiously understood, not of Christ's body,* but of the outward species or elements only, lest we fall into a worse error than that he retracted.

Secondly, I answer that the Fathers use the like rhetorical or hyperbolical expressions in their popular discourses concerning baptism; wherein neither we nor our adversaries admit of any transubstantiation. Thus Tertullian,† in his book of Baptism, saith, that thereby we are "dyed in the passion or blood of our Lord." In like manner, Cyril of Jerusalem, after he had instructed Christians not to look upon the bread and wine in the sacrament, as mere bread and wine, whatever sense suggesteth, but as the body and blood of Christ, affirmeth the same of the water in baptism, that it is not *λιγὸς καὶ ψιλὸς*, mere or bare water; and the same he saith of the oil in chrism, though neither of them are substantially changed into the very blood of Christ. Many more instances might be added, but these may suffice. I will only take notice of a similitude used by St. Chrysostom, in which Bellarmine triumphs. It is this: "As," saith he, "wax set on the fire loseth its substance, being turned into fire, so by consecration the substance of the bread is changed into the flesh of Christ." To which and the like expressions quoted out of the Fathers, I shall answer in the words of Petavius the Jesuit:‡ "There are many things," saith he, "in the holy Fathers, especially in Chrysostom, scattered here and there in their Homilies, which, if you would reduce to the rule of exact faith, they will seem altogether void of good sense." Another of their own Church ingeniously acknowledgeth,§ that preachers, such as the Fathers

* Autor Glossæ in Decret.

† Cap. 19. *Passio Domini in qua tingimur.* Mystag. 4. In Sacramentis, non quid sint, sed quid ostendant, attenditur; quoniam signa sunt rerum aliud existentia et aliud significantia. Aug. cont. Max. l. 3. c. 22. Ne quis attendat in eis quod sunt, &c. de Doctr. Christ. c. 7. Hom. 15. in Sacram. Euchar. tom. 6.

‡ In Epiphaniū, pag. 244, et pag. 288.

§ Sixtus Senensis, lib. 6. Biblioth. Annotat. 152.

were, in their Homilies and popular discourses often speak things by an hyperbole, being carried away, *affectuum inpetu et orationis cursu*, with the heat of their affections; "which often," said he, "befell Chrysostom." Yea, St. Jerome confesses of himself,* "we have played the rhetoricians in a declamatory way." To close this; similitudes are the weakest kind of arguments: neither may our adversaries in prudence urge this similitude of fired wax too vehemently against us. If so, they must necessarily grant, that not only the substance of the bread and wine in the sacrament ceaseth to be, but the very outward accidents also. For when wax is fired, not only the substance, but the very accidents are different from what they were before. And so much at present for transubstantiation.

I pass to the next article, purgatory. The ancient Fathers, for 500 years after Christ, did not hold the Romish doctrine of purgatory as an article of faith: yea, some of them expressly contradict it. I will begin with the Greek Fathers. Clemens Romanus and Ignatius, in their genuine writings, take no notice at all of it.

Justin Martyr denies it. "We believe," saith he, "ἐκαστον, every man, after his departure hence, goeth according to his works, either into everlasting punishment or life."† And immediately addeth, "Men would avoid sin, if they considered that they must go (without repentance) into eternal punishment by fire." But of enduring temporal punishment for sin by fire, not a word is to be found in all his writings. Amongst the questions and answers‡ which are printed with his works, it is thus resolved: "After the departure of souls out of their bodies, εὐθὺς, presently they are by angels carried to places fit for them: the souls of the just to paradise, of the unjust to hell, in which places they are kept until the resurrection." Here no notice is taken of purgatory, or any middle or third place, out of which souls may be delivered by prayers, masses, indulgences, &c. It is true, this writer is much younger than Justin Martyr, but it maketh the more against our adversaries; for it sheweth, that long after his death this article of Roman faith was not catholic, or universally received.

In Irenæus (as Erasmus also hath observed, who was very well seen in his writings) there is no mention of purgatory, but

* Rhetoricæ sumus, et aliquid declamationibus dedimus.

† ἐν αἰωνίᾳ κόλασιν ἢ σωτηρίαν.

‡ Quest. 75.

in the close of his last book, there is somewhat contradicting it; for, without any distinction of persons or sins, mortal or venial, he declares his opinion, that the souls of all Christ's disciples go to one invisible place (*hades*), there remaining till the resurrection, as Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, Ambrose,* and other of the Fathers held, which is inconsistent with purgatory, as invocation of dead saints also, and contradicted by the Romanists.

Eusebius Cæsariensis hath written several volumes, in all which, as Scultetus hath noted, there is not the least mention of purgatory: it is true, he relates how the people prayed for the soul of Constantine. But Constantine, as he assures us in the next chapter, went not to purgatory, but was taken up to his God, and joined his divine part, his soul, to God; yea, a little before his death, he himself, as Eusebius reports, used these words: "Now I know myself to be happy, to be now accounted worthy of eternal life." Prayer then for the dead doth not necessarily infer purgatory. I grant, he reporteth Plato's opinion concerning purgation of a middle sort of men by temporal punishments after death:† but adds, that Plato, through ignorance of the Scripture, erred in many things.

I pass to Athanasius, in all whose writings, though many and large, I can find no mention of this article of faith, purgatory; and am the more confirmed it cannot be found, in regard Bellarmine quotes nothing out of him or Eusebius against us.

Gregory Nazianzen,‡ in his oration in *Cæsarium*, delivers himself thus: "I am moved by the sayings of the wise, that every soul that is beloved of God (as the souls sent by Romanists to purgatory are acknowledged to be) presently, *εὐθὺς*, after the loosing from the body and departure hence, that which darkened the mind being either purged or cast from it, or done away, in what sort I cannot well express," whence it is evident he believed not they were purged by fire (as Romanists peremptorily affirm), "beginneth sensibly to discern that good which remaineth for it, to be filled with wonderful delight, and to leap for joy." But this wonderful delight and joy cannot consist with purgatory torments, or the fear of them. Nazianzen then was no Papist in this point on

* Origen. Hom. 18. in Jeremiah, pag. 163. edit. Huet. *Dum hic sumus, remedium, non postea.* Vita Constant. lib. 4. 63.

† De Præp. Evang. lib. 11. c. 20. lib. 13.

‡ Oratio 10.

those words, "Ye shall carry out nothing until the morning," &c.* he saith, "beyond or after this night, i. e. after death, there is no purging;" if no purging, no purgatory. In another place he saith, "After this life is a time of punishment, but not of purging." Hence he adds, "It is better for a man to be chastised and purged by temporal affliction here." All which places directly confront the Romish doctrine concerning purgation of souls by fire after death. In his fourth Oration on Baptism, he mentions several sorts of fire: I know, saith he, the purging fire, viz. that which Christ came to send on earth, viz. the fire of tribulation and temporal affliction, as Nicetas in his comment understands it. "The fire of love and faith towards God, which purgeth the soul from sin. Therefore," saith he, "Christ desired to have it kindled on earth as soon as might be, that we might have the benefit of it." This cannot be purgatory fire which Christ kindled not on earth. "I know," saith he, "another fire; but it is a punishing, not purging fire, as that of Sodom, or that which goeth before the face of the Lord to burn up his enemies, or the fire joined with the never-dying worm, which is eternal." Had Nazianzen known any other fire purgative of souls after this life, no question he would here have mentioned it; but he was, it seems, wholly ignorant of this Romish purgative fire after death, which Bellarmine asserts to be a point of faith; which he that believeth not, cannot be saved, but shall go to hell. *Parcite, non credimus.*† However, to make a show of Nazianzen's consent, he quoteth those words in his Oration, in *sancta lumina*, "They shall be baptized with another fire, which is the last baptism—which devours the gross matter like fire, and consumeth the levity of sin." But herein the Cardinal discovers much want of sincerity and fair dealing, for Nazianzen in that place speaketh thus, *Τυχὸν ἔχει*; by chance, or it may be, they shall be there baptized with fire; so that he delivers it not positively as an article of faith, but as an uncertain opinion or possibility only, as Augustine doth after him. Again, he directs his speech to the Novatian heretics. But the Roman Church is not so merciful as to send heretics to purgatory,‡ and possibly he might mean by that fire the fire

* *ὅτι τὴν βίαν ταύτην οὐκ ἔστι τις ἐκάστης ἐόλας καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνην.* [Ita his qui a vita excesserint non est in inferno confessio nec morum correctio. p. 229. Paris. 1630.]

† De Purgat. l. 10. c. 15.

‡ Origen. cont. Cels. l. 5. Cyril. Catech. 15.

of conflagration at the end of the world; as others of the Fathers (which Bellarmine denies not) are sometimes to be understood.

I must not omit his intimate friend, Basil the Great,* who saith, "The present time is the time of repentance and remission of sins." In his Exhortation to Baptism, he mentions only heaven and hell, taking no notice of purgatory. By the baptism of fire he understands λόγον διδασκαλίας, the word of doctrine. In his comment on Psal. xxxiii. he distinguisheth two sorts of men only, such as are dead to sin, and die in a mortified and sanctified estate, and such as are sinners. The death of the former is blessed, of the latter miserable, in regard punishment attends them like Dives in the parable. Now Dives, we know, was in hell, as is plain, Luke xvi. not purgatory. Basil therefore it seemeth knew no such place.

I pass to Epiphanius,† who, confuting the Novatians, writeth thus: "In the other world, after men's death, there is no fasting, penance, alms, or piety; there Lazarus cometh not to Dives, nor Dives to Lazarus." (Why did he not except those who are labouring in purgatory, as Romanists speak?) Epiphanius goes on: "The store-houses are sealed, no coming out, the time accomplished, the combat ended, the race run, and the crowns are given, (to what end then are prayers, masses, indulgences, &c.?) and they who have striven are quiet." If quiet, how labouring in purgatory? Again: "All things are plainly ended after death; whilst all are in combat, after falling there may be rising again. There is yet hope, there is yet help.—Salvation is not desperate. After death the king shuts the door, admitteth none. After our departure, we may not correct what was amiss formerly in us." How are these words reconcilable to the modern Romans faith? They say, men may correct after death, by the help of others, what was formerly amiss in them. After death salvation is not desperate, there is yet hope and help for some of a middle sort, when they have undergone temporary punishment or penance in purgatory. The door of heaven after death is not shut, the store-houses are not sealed up, but may be opened afterwards; the combat is not ended, nor (whatsoever Epiphanius saith) all the crowns yet given, some being reserved for those that are making satisfaction for their venial sins, or completing it for those that were mortal in purgatory. Yet the

* Moral. sum. lib. 10.

† Har. 59.

Fathers are all theirs, and the Roman Church never did, never can err.

But it is objected, that Epiphanius undoubtedly held purgatory as a point of faith, in regard he alloweth prayers for the dead, and condemns Aërius as a heretic for denying it.

I answer, Prayer for the dead doth no way prove the Romish purgatory. Or that they, for whom the Church anciently prayed, were in pain or torment; neither doth Epiphanius intimate any such thing, yea, he contradicts it, in part at least, when he saith, "We pray for the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs;" who, as our adversaries confess, were never in purgatory, but happy in the Lord. St. Ambrose prayed for the Emperor Valentinian* when deceased; yet in the very same place he declares, that he believed he was in heavenly glory. St. Augustine† also prayed for his mother Monica when departed; yet immediately adds, that he believed God had granted what he begged, *i. e.* remission of her sins, and everlasting life. Prayer then for the dead does not infer purgatory. But this by the way.

Let us now hear what St. Chrysostom saith in his third sermon upon the Philippians; he makes not three, but only two sorts of Christians; such as die in the true faith, and such as die in infidelity and their sins. The former, after their departure out of this life, are blessed, who are gone to Christ, and there are nearer to him, not by faith, but face to face. And Homily the fourth on the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Tell me what mean those bright lamps in funerals? Is it not that we bring forth the dead like victorious combatants?† Why are the hymns? Is it not because we glorify God for crowning him that is departed, ἀπελθόντα, that he hath freed him from labours, and from the fear of death, having him with himself? Consider what ye sing, when ye say, Return unto thy rest, O my soul," &c. These expressions agree with purgatory, like water with fire. How are they blessed with Christ, victorious, crowned, free from all sorrows, at rest and peace, who being of the number of the faithful, no gross sinners, but in a state of grace, are yet tormented in the fiery flames of purgatory? The same Father, in another place, hath these words: "He that in this present life shall not wash away his sins, shall find no con-

* De obitu Valentin.

† Confess. lib. 9. cap. ult.

‡ Ὅτι τῶν πόνων ἀπῆλλαξε, καὶ τῆς διωλείας ἐκβαλὼν ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτοῦ.

solation hereafter; this is the time of combating, that of crowning.* I shall only add what he writeth in his second homily upon Lazarus, quoted by Bellarmine, "When we are departed hence, it is not in our power to repent, or to wash away the sins we have committed."† Thus we have seen that the Greek Fathers, in the first ages of the Church, were not of the present Roman faith, as to this new article of purgatory. I might descend lower, were it not needless; for it is confessed by some of the Romish writers,‡ particularly Roffensis the Pope's martyr, in Henry VIII.'s days, "That in the ancient Fathers, especially the Greeks, there is either none, or very rare, mention of purgatory. Neither," saith he, "did the Latin Fathers all at once receive it, neither does the Greek Church at this day believe it." This concession is true; for the Greeks, in their printed Confession offered to the Council of Basil, Jeremy, patriarch of Constantinople,§ in his censure of the Lutheran Confession, and Cyril, patriarch of that Church, in his Confession of Faith, sent by him to Cornelius Hage, ambassador for the States of Holland at Constantinople, A.D. 1630, deny any purgation of sins after death by fire in purgatory, which, say the Greeks in their Apology, was condemned by the fifth General Council, although it is not now to be found in the late editions of the Councils.

From what hath been said, I hope it is evident, first, that there neither is, nor ever was, any catholic or universal consent of all Christian Churches, as to this new Roman article of faith, *viz.* purgatory. Secondly, that Bellarmine the Jesuit doth but abuse the world in quoting the Greek Fathers as owning it. For, is it probable that the Romans should understand their meaning in their writings better than themselves?

It is true, some of them, as Origen, Gregory Nyssen, &c. mention purgation of souls from sin by fire, but it makes nothing for the Popish doctrine of purgatory. For, first, Origen's purgatory is universal,|| which all prophets, apostles, the blessed Virgin, must pass through; not some only, neither very good nor very bad, but of a middle sort, as Romanists hold. Secondly, the purgation St. Basil, Gregory Nyssen,

* Hom. 5. in Genesin.

† V. Cyril. Alexand. in Joan. lib. 12. c. 36.

‡ V. Polyd. Virg. de Invent. Rerum. lib. 8. c. 1. Alph. de Castro, c. 8. p. 572. [Paris. 1571. p. 578.]

§ Ann. 1438.

|| Origen. in Exod. Hom. 6.

and others speak of, is not before the resurrection,* but at the end of the world, by the fire of conflagration, which shall purge, as some think, the whole creation; so that at last all men, even devils too, shall be saved, as Origen held, who turned hell into purgatory. Such sentences of the Fathers will not at all be serviceable to our adversaries' purpose. So much for Greek; come we now to the Latin Fathers.

I shall begin with Tertullian, who, in his *Apologetic*, cap. 47, mentions only two places to which souls go, hell and paradise. In his book *de Testimon. Animæ*, cap. 4, he thus bespeaketh the soul: "We affirm thee to remain after death, and to expect the day of judgment; and, according to your behaviour, to be destinated to torment or comfort; and both eternal."† As for temporary torments in the fire of purgatory before the day of judgment, Tertullian takes no notice of them. In his fifth book against Marcion, cap. 6, commenting on that famous place, 1 Cor. iii. he rightly understandeth the gold, silver, hay, stubble, not of sins venial or mortal, but doctrines worthy or unworthy of the foundation, *i. e.* Christ or Christian religion, with whom agrees Clemens of Alexandria.‡ In his fourth book, cap. 34, against Marcion, as also *de Anima*, cap. 35, 55, he saith, "The souls of all good Christians are in Abraham's bosom, in *refrigerio*, a place of refreshment until the resurrection (as many of the ancient Fathers thought), when they shall receive *plenitudinem mercedis*, the fulness of their reward;" not, as Papists now teach, any of them in purgatorian torments. It is farther observable, that he there distinguisheth that place from hell, or any part of it, as purgatory is supposed to be. And discoursing on those words applied by Romanists to purgatory, "Thou shalt not come out thence till thou hast paid the utmost farthing;" he affirmeth, that all souls abide *apud inferos*, till the resurrection. Which utterly overthrows the Roman doctrine of purgatory, and renders all their masses, indulgences, &c. vain and unprofitable.

From the master let us pass to his scholar St. Cyprian, who,

* V. Origen. in lib. Regum. p. 36. Contra Celsum, lib. 5. p. 241. Cyrilli Catech. l. 15. p. 168. Ego puto quod et post resurrectionem ex mortuis indigeamus sacramento nos eluente et purgante. Origen. Hom. 14. in Lucam.

† Expectare diem judicii, proque merito aut cruciatui destinari, aut refrigerio, utroque sempiterno.

‡ Strom. 5. τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἱκανήματα.

in his Epistle to Demetrian, saith, that at the ending of this temporal life we are severed into the receptacles either of eternal death or immortality.* And in his book *de Bono Mortalitatis*, he comforts the Christians generally in a time of raging pestilence with these considerations; that the servants of Christ, when they die, depart, as Simeon desired, in peace. "Enter into paradise, go to Christ, begin to reign with Christ, that when they are taken out of the storms of this world, they gain the haven of rest and eternal security."† Lastly, that after death the righteous are called *ad refrigerium*, to refreshment (not torment in purgatory fire, whither some are sent by the Romanists), and the unrighteous to punishment." All which expressions are utterly inconsistent with this new article of faith; as every man not blinded with prejudice, may easily discern. To the same purpose, in his epistle to Antonian, he advised, in contradiction to the bitter doctrine of Novatus, that pardon and peace should be granted to penitents *in extremis*, at or a little before their death; "because," saith he, "*apud inferos exomologesis fieri non posset*, in hell, or the state of death, or in the grave (as the word *inferi* is sometimes taken), there can be no satisfaction made by suffering penance or punishment for sin." It is true, in the latter end of the same Epistle, he saith, it is one thing to be presently admitted to the reward of faith or heavenly glory, and another to be purged from sins, by being long tormented in fire. But this testimony is no good proof of the Roman purgatory, in regard he there speaketh expressly *de die judicii*, of the day of judgment after the resurrection; whereas our adversaries confess, that their purgatory fire is of no use after the resurrection and eternal judgment. The like saying he hath in his Epistle to Demetrian. After we have gone out of this life, *nullus remanet satisfactionis locus*; "there is no place for satisfying for our sins. Here life is got or lost for ever." Our adversaries say, after we are gone out of this world, we may, by suffering in purgatory, fully satisfy God for our sins, complete our *exomologesis* or penance, obtaining thereby at last life eternal. Surely St. Cyprian was of another opinion.

Come we to Lactantius.‡ "The heathens," saith he, "speak of a *bivium*, two ways, *apud inferos*, relating to the dead; we more truly say, that these two ways are heaven and

* *Ad eternæ mortis vel immortalitatis hospitium dividamur*, p. 166.

† *Securitatis eternæ portum petimus*.

‡ *Instit. lib. 6. c. 3. et lib. 3. c. 19. Cœli et inferorum*.

hell; for to the righteous immortality, to the wicked eternal death belongs." Here Lactantius mentions two, not three ways, men go after death.

The next Latin Father is St. Hilary, who in his Comment on Matth. xxv. overthroweth the main ground on which purgatory is built; for he saith, expounding the parable of the Virgins, *Alienis meritis ac operibus neminem adjuvandum*, &c. "that no man after this life can be helped or delivered by the good works or merits of others, because every man must necessarily provide oil for his own lamp." The wise virgins, in St. Hilary's judgment, are they, who embracing the opportunity or season of this life, the time of repentance and reconciliation with God, prepare themselves for Christ's coming. The foolish are they, who would be borrowing oil of their neighbours, provide not in time for themselves, but depend on the courtesy of others, their works, their prayers, merits, which will stand them in no stead, when, being out of their bodies, they have neglected and lost the time of repentance. If Hilary was in the right, redemption of souls out of purgatory by other men's prayers, merits, fastings, by indulgences, masses, pardons, scapularies, and such foolish inventions, are all vain and insignificant, which will stand men in no stead, yield them no help or relief. The same Father elsewhere maketh only two sorts of men, *fideles et impii*,* faithful and impious; "the former," he saith, "going out of the body, are placed in Abraham's bosom, where they are kept free from evil," viz. of punishment, "till after the resurrection (so he thought) they be admitted into heaven; the other are hindered like Dives, by the interposing gulf, from going thither." To the same purpose he discourseth in Psalm ii.

I pass to St. Ambrose,† who in his book *de Bono Mortis*, saith thus: "He that receiveth not here remission of sins, shall not be there," i.e. in heaven. He speaketh indefinitely of all sins, whether mortal or venial. And again, chap. xii. "when that day," viz. of death, "cometh, they go to their Redeemer, to the very bosom of Abraham," a place of rest, not torment, speaking of good Christians. Certainly, it is harsh to affirm, that justified persons, reconciled to God by Christ's blood (for as Hilary even now taught us, this must be done here in this life, or nowhere), and consequently in a state of grace and favour with him, should, in regard of some small

* In Psal. p. 120.

† Cap. 2.

venial sins or mortal, as they are called, not fully satisfied for in this life by penance, fasting, alms, &c. be cast into fiery torments, and to lie there many years, none know how long, unless helped out by the uncertain prayers, merits, &c. of others; particularly unless the all-sufficient and abundantly satisfactory merits of Christ be applied to them by the Pope's indulgences.

I add next St. Jerome,* who saith, when the soul, freed from the bands of the body, shall have liberty to fly whither it will, or whither it is compelled to go, "it shall either be carried to hell, of which it is written, In hell who will confess to thee? or it shall be lifted up to heaven." It seemeth a third place, *viz.* purgatory, Jerome knew not.

I will end with St. Augustine, who having mentioned heaven and hell, adds, "a third place we are altogether ignorant of, neither do we find it in holy Scripture."† Elsewhere he saith, "there is no middle place to any, that he should not be with the devil, who is not with Christ." In his Epistle to Hesychius, he writeth thus: "In what state the day of death findeth any one, accordingly shall he be judged at the last day." The like sentence, almost word for word, we find in Justin Martyr,‡ who quoteth it as a saying of our Saviour, "In what things I find you, so will I judge you." In his Epistle to Macedonius, he saith, "After this life there is no place to correct our manners, or what has been amiss." How then can repentance or temporal satisfaction for sins be perfected or supplied after death? I will add his words upon the 31st Psalm, "If God pardon sins, he will cover them; if he cover them, he will not take notice of them; if he will not take notice of them, he will not punish them." How is this reconcilable with God's punishing the sins that he hath pardoned in purgatory? It is true, we know God punisheth sometimes in this life such as he pardons, for their future amendment, and for example to others; but what is this to punishing men after this life, when there is no amendment possible, as our adversaries grant, nor others to be thereby warned?

I acknowledge there are some places quoted by Bellarmine and others, wherein St. Augustine seemeth to own purgation of

* In Amos, cap. 9.

† Hypognost. lib. 5. De Pecc. mer. et remiss. c. 28. Ep. 80.

‡ In Dial. p. 107.

the souls of some men from sin after this life, as *de Genesi*, lib. 2. *cont. Manich.* cap. 10. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 21. cap. 24. Although Ludovicus Vives* saith, that place is not to be found in the ancient manuscripts, not in that printed at Friburg, Hom. 16, inter 50. in Psalm. xxxvii.

But in his *Enchiridion*, his book *de Fide et Operibus*, and *ad Dulcitium*, where he professedly handles this point, and expoundeth the principal place of Scripture now urged by Romanists for their doctrine of purgatory, he speaketh very doubtfully and uncertainly, First, he acknowledgeth that 1 Cor. iii. is difficult and obscure, one of those intimated by St. Peter, 2 Epist. cap. 3. ver. 16, of the true meaning of which he was not certain. But such an obscure place is, as all will grant, a very unfit ground to build an article of faith upon, which to deny shall be heresy, and destructive of salvation. Secondly, to Dulcitius, quoting his own books before mentioned, he interprets it expressly *de igne doloris*, of the figurative and metaphorical fire of grief (according to Psalm xxxix. "My heart was hot within me, at last the fire kindled," &c.) arising from the loss of temporal enjoyments, as estate, wealth, &c. too earnestly loved, yet renounced, and with some reluctancy forsaken for Christ's sake and the Gospel's. Such a man, saith St. Augustine, is saved, yet as it were by fire; *urit enim cum dolor*, for grief burneth him, as Latin authors speak. So that by fire, in that place, 1 Cor. iii. this learned Father did not, so far as I can perceive, understand any proper and material fire, but metaphorical only. Then he immediately adds, "whether therefore in this life only men suffer these things, i. e. as I said before, this figurative fire of grief, or also after this life some such *judicia*, judgments, or punishments follow, the sense of St. Paul's words, *quantum arbitror*, as I think, abhors not from truth." So that St. Augustine doth not peremptorily assert it as a point of catholic faith to be believed necessary to salvation, that there is any such, to wit, grief after this life, but leaveth it uncertain, and delivereth it as his opinion only. Thirdly, It is worthy of our observation, that they who held (amongst whom St. Jeromet† was one) that all Christians, not heretics or schismatics, who professed faith in Christ, should, how wickedly soever they had lived and died, be at last saved (an opinion detested by St. Augustine, and earnestly confuted by him in several places of his works), did

* Comment. in locum.

† In sine Comment. in Isaiam.

bring this very text, 1 Cor. iii. to prove it: "He that buildeth on this foundation," *i. e.* faith in Christ and the profession of it, "wood, hay, stubble," *i. e.* a wicked and barren life, "shall be saved, yet so as by fire." St. Augustine, labouring to bring men off from this dangerous error, so plainly contradicted by the holy Scripture* in many places, is sometimes not unwilling to grant, that it is possible that some of the weaker sort of Christians departing out of this life under the guilt of some lesser sins, might be purged some way or other from them after this life (which the Greeks at this day, who deny the Romish purgatory, grant), but he is far from believing or urging it on others as an article of catholic faith, of which, to be sure, he would never have spoken in so doubting and uncertain a manner; neither will any learned man deny, but that some of the ancient Fathers, as St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, with others noted by Sixtus Senensis, were of opinion, that men dying grossly wicked, yea and devils too, saith Origen, should at last be saved, or might at least have their punishment in hell mitigated by the prayers and alms of their surviving friends, which tenet is now condemned even by the Papists themselves. Fourthly, It is considerable, that St. Augustine *ad Dulcitium* expressly affirmeth, that the fire mentioned 1 Cor. iii. is such, as not only he that buildeth on the foundation wood, hay, stubble,† but also he that buildeth or layeth on gold, silver, precious stones, must pass through. For St. Paul immediately adds, the fire shall try every man's work: then he adds, the tentation of tribulation, *ignis est*, is fire, *i. e.* in a figurative and metaphorical sense, as it is written, Ecclesiasticus xxvii. "The furnace trieth the potters' vessels, and just men the tentation of tribulation," which he explains thus: "He that mindeth the things of this life (1 Cor. vii. careth too much for them), if yet, for Christ's sake, he be at last willing to forsake them, shall be saved, but *quasi per ignem*, as it were by fire, *quia urit eum dolor rerum quas dilexerat amissarum, sed non subvertit neque consumit fundamenti stabilitate munitum et incorruptum*;" "because the grief of the beloved things he hath lost burneth him, but subverts or consumes him not, being preserved incorrupt by the stability of the foundation; to wit, faith in Christ." Then he adds, "*tale aliquid, &c.* some such thing (*i. e.* burning in the fire of grief, for of it he before spake) to happen also after this

* 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. Forsitan verum est, lib. 21. de Civit. Dei, cap. 26.

† Ergo utriusque opus probabit.

life, *non incredible est*, is not incredible." (He saith not, as Bellarmine, must be believed under peril of damnation.) And whether it be so or no, *quæri potest*, may be inquired after, and either be found or lies hid, to wit, that some (not all) of the faithful by a kind of purgatory or purgative fire, *per ignem quendam purgatorium* (whether figurative or proper and material, he resolveth not), by how much the more or less they have loved these perishing good things, shall by so much the sooner or later be saved; but not such of whom it is said by St. Paul, they shall not inherit the kingdom of God, unless they be pardoned here upon their true repentance."* Can any ingenuous person believe St. Augustine took this purgatory doctrine, whatsoever it be, or our adversaries will have his meaning to be, for an undoubted article of the Christian faith? Lastly, St. Augustine expoundeth that place the Romanists urge much in maintenance of their purgatory, "Thou shalt not come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing,"† as Protestants do; that is, thou shalt never come out thence; as *donec*, until, is taken, Matth. i. last; and in other places. So Dulcitius had interpreted that place, which St. Augustine approveth of, and applieth to this present controversy.

From all that hath been said I infer, first, That the fire mentioned 1 Cor. iii. is not the Popish purgatory fire, neither did St. Augustine so understand it. Secondly, That the true sense of that place is, as he confesseth, very difficult, dark and obscure. Thirdly, That whatsoever St. Augustine inferred from it, whether that there is after this life a proper, or only a figurative fire of grief, it is no part of the ancient catholic faith, but a truth (if a truth,) which a true Christian may be ignorant of without peril of damnation. *Quæri potest*, "It may be questioned or sought after, and possibly be never found out, but lie hid." Fourthly, That therefore St. Augustine‡ was no Roman Catholic, or of Pope Pius's faith. I might add, that even Pope Gregory the Great confesseth, that the fire, 1 Cor. iii. may be understood of temporal affliction. But I shall not descend so low at this time.

To these express places, quoted out of St. Augustine, Bellarmine replies, that he doubted not of purgatory, but of the quality of the punishment and sins there to be purged.§

* 1 Cor. vi. 9.

† Matth. v. 26.

‡ Lib. quarto Dialog. cap. 39.

§ Apud Bellarm. lib. 10. c. 5. de Purgatorio. [Lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 345. vol. 2. Præge, 1721.]

But it is evident from his own words above recited: First, That he understood not the fire mentioned, 1 Cor. iii. (the principal place alleged by our adversaries) in a proper and natural sense as they do, but moral and metaphorical, not of material but figurative fire, the fire of grief. The Greeks, in their Apology, deny not pardon or purgation of some sins after death, though not by material fire, for which nevertheless the Romish Church condemns them as heretics and rejecters of purgatory. Secondly, It is undeniable that he did not hold the purgation of sins after death, no not by the fire of grief, much less material fire, to be an undoubted truth or article of Christian faith, as Bellarmine in that place affirmeth it to be.*

But in regard the words of St. Cyprian, in his epistle to Antonian, are much urged by some, as clearly confirming the Romish doctrine of purgatory, where he writeth, "*Aliud est statim fidei et virtutis mercedem accipere, aliud pro peccatis longo dolore cruciatum emendari et purgari diu igne*;" it is one thing presently to receive the reward of faith and virtue; another for one being long tormented with grief for his sins, to be cleansed and purged a great while in fire." To answer this place, we are first of all to observe the occasion of these words. St. Cyprian a little before takes notice of an objection of the Novatian heretics against the receiving the *lapsi*, such as, for fear in time of persecution, like Peter, denied Christ. They alleged, that if such might be admitted to absolution and the communion of the church, none would be martyrs, or lay down their lives for the faith of Christ. St. Cyprian answers, not so; for although a time of penance, and then peace, is granted to adulterers, yet virginity and continency did not languish or decay in the church. Then follows the words above-mentioned, *Aliud est*, &c. It is evident enough then, that the fire here mentioned is not to be understood of any proper and material purgatorian fire, which Papists plead for, but metaphorical, or of the fire of grief, as St. Augustine expounds the fire, 1 Cor. iii. Which place most probably St. Cyprian here alludes unto; in regard such as fell away in time of persecution,† were not to be admitted to the peace of the church, until they had undergone the grief and shame of a public, long and severe penance, termed *exomologesis*. So much St. Cyprian's own words intimate: "It is one thing pre-

* De Purgat. lib. 10. cap. ult. [Iib. 1. cap. 15. p. 357. ut supra.]

† As Bellarmine grants, de Purgat. lib. 1. cap. 5. [ut supra.]

sently to receive, as martyrs did, the reward of their faith and virtue (a great encouragement to martyrdom), another to be cleansed *longo dolore*, with long grief, and (which are paraphrastical of his former words) to be long purged with fire." To this I shall add, that it was the opinion of many of the ancient Fathers, as Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Lactantius, Ambrose,* with others quoted by Sixtus Senensis, that none, except martyrs, were immediately, upon their death, admitted to the presence of God, *ad oscula Domini*, to receive the crown of eternal glory, but were kept in *loco invisibili*, as Irenæus, or in *abditis receptaculis*, in some secret invisible places, until the day of judgment, solicitously expecting then to receive their final sentence; this is *pendere in die judicii ad sententiam Domini*, as St. Cyprian there phraseth it.

Thus I hope I have given (let the learned reader judge) a true and fair interpretation of St. Cyprian's words, which do not import any proper fire to purify souls before the day of judgment; so that upon the view of what is above said, we may conclude, that the Romish doctrine of purgatory is no part of the ancient, primitive and apostolic faith, but in the fifth century in St. Augustine's days it began to be a doubtful and uncertain opinion only. So much at present for purgatory.

I should now make some inquiry in the writings of the ancient Fathers after indulgences,† the fuel that feeds this purgatorial fire. But I am much discouraged in regard Alphonsus de Castro, a learned and earnest Papist, who lived near Luther's time, and knew what was the first occasion of his opposing the Church of Rome, to wit, the abominable abuse of these indulgences by the pardon-mongers: he, I say, in that very book which he wrote against heresies, and Luther by name, hath informed me, *Inter omnes est, etc.* that amongst all the points in dispute betwixt Protestants and Papists, there is not one which the Scripture hath less clearly delivered, and of which ancient writers have spoken less than concerning indulgences. The Pope's martyr Roffensis confesseth the use of them was *sero receptus in Ecclesia*, of late received by the Church. Of purgatory, he saith, there is, especially amongst the Greek writers, *fere nulla mentio*, almost no mention of it. Now in-

* Biblioth. l. 6. Annotat. 345.

† Lib. 80. Tit. Indulgentiæ. De Indulgentiis pauca dici possunt per certitudinem, quia nec Scriptura expresse de his loquitur, l. 4. dist. 20. qu. 3. Ambr. Hilar. Aug. Hieronym. minime de his loquuntur, Idem. ibid. Roffensis assert. Luther. confut. art. 18.

dulgences, as is granted, are grounded on purgatory; they must stand and fall together. So long, saith he, as there was no care or fear of purgatory, no man sought for pardons, for on it depends all the credit of pardons. Take away purgatory, and what use of pardons? When therefore purgatory was so lately known and received in the Church, who now can marvel at pardons, that in the beginning of the Church there was no use of them? Pardons therefore began after that they had trembled awhile at the pains of purgatory. Thus he. Antoninus, Sylvester, Picrius, Ostiensis, the Louvain divines, Polydore Virgil, Cajetan, and others, of whom more hereafter, say as much; so that it will be labour in vain to search for them in the writings of the ancient authors. Here I cannot but wonder our adversaries do not blush to boast of their present Roman faith and church, as if they were the same, only the same, with the ancient primitive and catholic one, and to accuse us Protestants of novelty, heresy, and setting up a new faith and church under the banner of M. Luther; whereas they, not we, are guilty of those crimes by introducing new articles of faith, purgatory and indulgences amongst the rest, which we only protest against.

I now come to invocation of saints and angels,* a grand article of the Roman faith, according to Pope Pius's new Creed, concerning which I shall in general take the boldness to say, that for above three hundred years after Christ there cannot be produced out of the genuine writings of one ancient Father, one clear and pertinent testimony for invocation of saints or angels. Besides my own little observation, I have good vouchers for this assertion, the most reverend and learned Primate Usher, who read over all the Fathers, and Mr. Montague in his treatise of Invocation of Saints; yea, Cardinal Perron acknowledgeth this to be truth,† who (as also Cas-sander) never used in private devotions to pray to any saint. As for the place usually quoted out of Justin Martyr to this purpose, it is grossly perverted by false pointing. The words are these: "But him (i. e. God the Father), and him who came from him, and taught us and the host of good angels these things, the Son, and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore."‡ Bellarmine was not ashamed to render them thus:

* *Eximium adorationis genus.* Bellarm. de Beat. Sanct.

† *V. Molinæum de Novit. Papis. p. 388. apud Chemnit. in Exam. p. 6, 13.*

‡ *Apol. 2.*

“But him (the Father) and his Son, who came and taught us these things, and the host of good angels, and the prophetic Spirit we worship and adore.” Thus by placing a note of distinction after διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, teaching us these things, he abuseth his reader into a conceit, that the primitive Christians, as Justin here witnesseth, did adore, not only the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but the host of angels also. Yea, if the Cardinal’s reading be right, then they worshipped and adored the holy angels in the third place next to the Father and Son, before the holy and prophetic Spirit; which certainly was far from the least thought or practice of the primitive Christians, or their apologist Justin Martyr, who elsewhere declares, in his own and the Christians’ names, that they worshipped as the Father and Son; so, in the third place, not the holy angels, but the Holy Ghost.* But enough of this, only we may observe by the way, with what honesty and fidelity our adversaries quote the Fathers.

There is another place they bring out of Irenæus,† *Ut Maria Virgo sit Evæ advocata*, “that the Virgin Mary may be Eve’s advocate.” Hence most impertinently they infer, that Eve prayed or might pray to the Virgin Mary; whereas all that can be concluded from these words is, that the Virgin Mary prayeth for Eve. I wonder how it is possible to conceive that Eve should pray to the Virgin Mary some thousands of years before she was born? The truth is, those words of Irenæus do not at all relate to any religious advocacy or invocation, for in that place he only makes a parallel or comparison betwixt Eve and the Virgin Mary, that as Eve, a virgin, brought sin and death into the world, so Mary, a virgin, brought forth a Saviour and Redeemer, *Ut Maria sit Evæ advocata*, that Mary might be an advocate or pleader to excuse the sin of Eve, and defend the honour of the sex. Take Tertullian’s verses as a comment on Irenæus, who speaks fully and clearly what he meant,

“Virgo viro nocuit, sed vir de virgine vicit;
Virginis ut virgo, caro carnis debita solvat.”‡

That as by a virgin came death, so also by a virgin came deli-

* ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει.

† Lib. 5. cōtr. Hær. ultra medium. [Sicut Eva seducta est ut effugeret. Deum sic Maria suasa est obedire Deo ut virginis Evæ virgo Maria fieret advocata. lib. v. c. 19. p. 316. Venet. 1734.]

‡ Lib. 1. advers. Marcionem. V. Origen. in Dialog. p. 256. [1658] et Tertul. de habitu mulier. c. 10.

verance from death. The Virgin Mary in and by her Son making full reparation or satisfaction for Eve's transgression. What doth this concern religious invocation of the blessed Virgin? But I shall not satisfy myself, much less others, in bare asserting. Let us come to the trial of the cause, and produce our witnesses.

Justin Martyr, Apol. 2, giving an account to the Emperor Antoninus of the Christian religion, saith,* "We offer up the sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving to God: we think him alone worthy of this honour, by whom all things were created." And a little after, "We worship God alone."

The church of Smyrna,† being accused by the heathens as if they intended to worship their martyred bishop, St. Polycarp, answer in vindication of themselves, "We worship Christ the Son of God, but martyrs we worthily love, ἀγαπῶμεν, as his disciples and faithful servants, whose memory on their *natalitia* or *obit* days, we celebrate." Which exactly agrees with St. Augustine's dogmatical resolution of this question: "We honour angels *charitate, non servitute*, with love, not service:" and in another place, "with the worship or honour of love and fellowship, as holy men are worshipped in this life."

Origen against Celsus:‡ "The good angels in some sense we reverence, honour or worship as God's ministers; but we worship one God and his only Son with prayers and supplications, offering them to God by his only-begotten: begging that he, as our High Priest, would present them to God." He saith, not by the intercession of saints upon our prayers to them, or angels, but Christ the Son of God our High Priest, whose peculiar office it is, as such, to present our prayers and spiritual sacrifices unto God. And a little after: "God alone is to be prayed unto. Prayers are to be offered also to his only Son."§ And whereas Celsus alleged (as now Papists do) the power of courtiers to injure or help those who respect or disrespect them. Origen|| adviseth him to commit and commend himself to God only, the Supreme Ruler of all things,

* *Ecclesia nec invocationibus angelicis facit aliquid, sed pure orationes dirigens ad Dominum.* Iren. lib. 20. c. 55, in fine.

† Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 15. [See also Cruse's translation, p. 132. Bagster. London, 1838.] et [p. 109. B. Ed. 2. Vales, Paris. 1678.] V. Lactant. Instit. lib. 5. cap. 11. de Vera Relig. c. 57. Aug. Cont. Faustum. lib. 22. c. 21.

‡ Lib. 8. p. 386. Edit. Cant. [1658.] And the same he saith, lib. 5. c. 60. vet. Edit.

§ μόνῳ.

|| V. Ambros. p. 300. in Rom. cap. 1.

and to beg of him all that help and protection which cometh from angels and just men: "for," saith he, "as the shadow follows the motion of the body, so he that pleaseth God hath the friends of God,* angels and blessed souls favourable to him, who will render God more favourable, and will pray together with him, although unrequested." But of our praying therefore to them not a word is to be found in all his books against Celsus, yea, in these words the ground of all invocation of saints or angels is wholly taken away. Not to weary the reader, lib. 5, in *Cels.* p. 233, he saith, "all prayers are to be offered up to God, and that it is not fit or reasonable *εὐλογον Ἀγγέλους καλέσαι*, to call upon angels:" if not on angels, much less on saints. The same we find, lib. 8. in *Cels.* p. 402.

Clemens Alexandrinus† accounted it gross folly to beg of those who are no gods, as if they were; wherefore justly (seeing there is one good God) we and angels beg of him the bestowing of good things.

Tertullian says,‡ "These things I can beg of none else, but of him of whom I know I shall obtain them, because he alone (which Papists dare not deny) granteth them, and I to whom it belongeth to obtain them, am his servant, whom (not saints or angels) I only serve or observe." And in another place, "We are to ask of him by whom something is promised," i. e. God. Have saints or angels promised us anything? *præscript.* c. 8.

Arnobius, lib. 3, *contra Gent.* "The first God is enough to us, in him we worship all that is to be worshipped."

Lactantius agreeth with him;§ for he adviseth all men to look up and adore nothing, worship nothing but the Majesty of God our Father and Maker.

Eusebius *Cæsar. Demonstr.* lib. 1. c. 5. and lib. 3. c. 3, sheweth, "that the Jewish Church directed their adorations to God only;" and for Christians he affirmeth, lib. 4. c. 6, "that they prayed to God only in the name of Christ (not of saints or angels) as their mediator. For seeing," saith he, "it is peculiar to Christ, as the great High Priest, to frame for us spiritual sacri-

* V. Origen. in *Romānos*, 2. p. 140. [1658.]

† Strom. 7. [Strom. l. 7. p. 721 et 853. Venet. 1757.]

‡ Apologet. cap. 34. Præcepit Christus secrete orare, ut quem ubique audire fideret, ei soli religionem offerret. Tertullian. Apologet. cap. 30. [Sect. 30. p. 27. Paris. 1695.]

§ Invocatio supponit omnipræsentiam, lib. 6. p. 183. Instit. lib. 2. cap. 16, 17.

fices in praises and thanksgivings,* and because as a Priest he hath offered up himself a perfect sacrifice to God for us : hence we say to him, Let him remember all thy sacrifice, &c." Here we see propitiation is the ground of intercession. As for angels, he granteth to them τιμὴν κατὰ τὸ μέτριον τῆς ἀξίας, honour according to the dignity of their excellent nature (so do we), but reserveth σεβίσσιμον τιμὴν all religious honour or worship to God only. This is the very doctrine of Protestants. The due honour of saints he explaineth thus : "We go to their sepulchres Θήκας αὐτῶν, at them παρὰ ταύταις τὰς εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι, to make prayers, not αὐτοῖς, *ipsis* to them, (as Trapezuntius falsely, if not perfidiously translated it), but παρὰ ταύταις, at them, which is another thing."

But let us hear the testimony of Athanasius the truly great,† who every where in his orations against the Arians, proveth (as the rest of the Fathers unanimously do) Christ to be true God by this argument especially, because he is prayed to ; which were of no force, if any creature, saint, or angel,‡ might be in any sense invoked. Particularly in his fourth Oration against the Arians, from that prayer of St. Paul, God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ direct our way unto you : he inferreth Christ to be consubstantial with the Father. For no man is a true catholic (which appeareth hereby a Papist is not) who would pray to receive any thing of God and angels or any creature. Neither, saith he, hath any Christian as yet (then invocation of saints or angels was unknown and unpractised amongst all true Christians) used this form of prayer or words : God, and an angel (we may add saint) grant it you. Whether Papists use not such forms of words in their prayers,§ is too notorious to be proved to any who are acquainted with their books of devotion. Then taking notice of one of their chief arguments now pressed by our new Roman Catholics for proof of their invocation of angels, to wit, the words of dying

* V. Origen. supra. Psalm 20. Si cultus tantum dicatur, non soli Deo debetur, sed religio, etc. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 10. c. 1. De Præp. lib. 12. c. 7.

† Orat. tertia in Arian. [2. 4.]

‡ V. Novatian de Trinit. c. 14. [c. 13. A. ibid. C. D. ad fin. Tertull. Paris. 1675.] Si homo tantummodo Christus, cur in orationibus invocatur, &c. Quomodo adest ubique invocatus, cum hæc hominis natura non sit, sed Dei ?

§ Laus Deo, Virginique Mariæ, [Laus Deo Virginique Matri Mariæ, p. 516. vol. 2. Pragæ. 1721.] in fine. tom. 2. et 3. Bellarm. See Dr. Brevint's Saul and Samuel at Endor.

Jacob, "The Angel that delivered me out of all my distresses, bless the lads:" Athanasius (as the other Fathers unanimously) expounds them not of any created angel, but of the Son of God, who is God and the Angel of the Covenant, whom Jacob saw face to face at Peniel, and termeth God. He addeth, David prayed to none for deliverance but to God;* "To thee, O Lord, have I cried," &c. and concludes, *δὴλόν ἐστι*. It is evident the patriarch Jacob joined none in his prayers to God but the Word, whom he therefore calleth the Angel, because he alone revealeth the Father. Do not they then willingly abuse themselves and others, who take Athanasius for a Roman Catholic, or invocation of angels for an article of the ancient catholic faith, held by all sound Christians in all ages, or that the Angel appearing to the old patriarchs was a created angel?

I will add his contemporary St. Hilary, who although he granteth (which Protestants deny not) that the angels pray for the church militant here on earth, yet he no where alloweth invocation of them; but on Psalm xxix. and cxxiv. he adviseth all Christians to pray to God, in regard he is omnipresent in all places, ready to help, which is not true of saints or angels. In like manner on Psalm cxl. he saith, "*Magnificentiae Dei est orari*, It pertaineth to the magnificence or prerogative of God to be prayed unto."†

Hitherto the coast is clear, and we have the unanimous consent of the Fathers for about 340 years after Christ, against invocation of saints, angels, or any creature. Whence we undoubtedly conclude, that it is, though a part of the present Roman, yet not of the true ancient and catholic faith believed *semper, ubique, et apud omnes*, always, in all places, by all sound Christians; for such doctrines, as Vincentius Lirinensis rightly notes, are only truly catholic, that is, universal, as the name itself catholic signifies.

To proceed. Basil the Great, Hom. 3. in *Hexæmeron*. All honour, worship *προσκύνησις*, is due to God only. In Psalm vii. he saith, Our hope is to be placed in God only. In Psalm xviii. That if any man worship the creature beside (though with) the Creator, he giveth not glory to God, but the creature; and in Psalm xlv. instead of saints and angels, he telleth us,

* So Euseb. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 2. Ambros. in Psalm. 43. Novatian. de Trinit. *Κρίματι κρίμα οὐ προσκυνεῖ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ μόνου προσκυνεῖσθαι*. Aug. Hi agnoscunt se esse creaturas. *Ἐκ τῶν προσκυνούντων, μὴ προσκυνουμένων*. Athanas. Orat. 3. in Arian.

† In maledicto est religio creatur. Hil. de Trinit. l. 8. p 106.

that in all our necessities * God is our only refuge. In his funeral oration on Gordius, he acquainteth us with the true ends of those commendatory or commemorative solemnities observed on the *nataliti*, or festivals of the martyrs, to wit, to glorify God, and to stir up the people to imitation of their virtues, but no mention find we there of praying to them.

I am not ignorant that out of Basil, Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, &c. their funeral orations, some rhetorical apostrophes to and compellations of the saints deceased are urged for invocation of saints by Bellarmine and others.

To which I answer, First, That in the most primitive and ancient Fathers, we, as we have seen, find them not; from the beginning it was not so. Secondly, That rhetorical flourishes of eloquence are no safe and sure grounds to build an article of faith upon, as Theodoret grants, *Non ego dogmatum regulam educo, quæ in Ecclesia panegyricè dicantur.** The Fathers, in their panegyric orations and popular sermons (as Sixtus Senensis, a Papist, acknowledgeth) spake often *affectuum impetu et orationis cursu rapti*,† such things as taken according to the literal and strict sense cannot be justified.

To give one instance amongst many. Nazianzen, in his funeral oration on St. Basil, saith of him, Now in heaven *ὡς οἶμαι*, as I suppose (for he was not certain), *προσφέρει θυσίας*, he offereth up sacrifices for us. Yet no Papist will say, that he celebrated mass, or, as we speak, the holy eucharist, or consecrated it in heaven, as that phrase of offering sacrifice is sometimes used by the Fathers. In like manner he saith of his father, that he did in heaven *προσπολεμῆν*,‡ fight for his flock on earth. Thirdly, Many of their expressions are not *προσευχαί*, prayers, but rather *ἐυχαι*, wishes. So Nazianzen in his oration on Basil: § Thou, O sacred and divine head, *respice nos quæso de cælo*, look on us from heaven; so Billius, a Papist, falsely translates it. In the Greek the word is, *ἐποπτεύεις*, O si, or *utinam nos de cælo respiceres*; O that, or I wish, thou mightest look down from heaven on us. So that it is rather a wish than a true prayer. This is certain, Nazianzen, on the oration above-mentioned, no where prayeth to his own father.

4. They speak doubtfully and uncertainly; so Nazianzen

* Dial. 3.

† Biblioth. lib. 6. Annotat. 152.

‡ *Πειθομαι δὲ, εἰ μὴ τολμῶν τοῦτο εἰπεῖν.*

§ Mountague of Invocation of Saints. [Greg. Naz. Orat. in Athan. vol. 1. p. 286, 373, 397. Par. 1630.]

making an apostrophe to the soul of Constantius, puts in εἰ τις αἰσθῆσις, if thou hast any sense or knowledge of our affairs; I am compelled to speak to him as present. More plainly in his oration on his sister Gorgonia, εἰ τοῦτο τὸ γέρας τῶν τοιούτων ἐπαισθάνεσθαι, If there be such a reward bestowed on pious souls, εἰ τις σοι καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγος, that thou hast any knowledge or regard of our affairs, receive τὸν λόγον, not *orationem*, my prayer (for he no where prays to her, or St. Basil, or his father), but my speech, *sermonem*, which certainly he would have done, had he been a right Roman Catholic. But who can imagine or believe that Nazianzen, Basil, and other of the ancient Fathers would have spoken concerning the saints departed, their knowledge of human affairs, so doubtfully and uncertainly, if they had in the least believed that invocation of saints in heaven was an article of Catholic faith necessary to be believed under peril of heresy and damnation! *Credut Judæus Apella, non ego.*

But before I go on, I will take particular notice of a place quoted by Bellarmine out of St. Basil's oration on the forty martyrs in these words: *Qui aliqui premittitur angustia, ad hos confugiat, &c.* He that is in any affliction or strait, let him fly to these, *i. e.* these martyrs. To this I answer, First, That Bellarmine abuseth his reader with a false Latin translation, which is not unusual with him. In the Greek it is only καταφεύγει, not *let him*, but *he doth* fly to them. Here is matter of fact or practice; they did so: but here is no approbation, advice or counsel of St. Basil that they should do so. Secondly, He exhorts them to join their prayers unto, and with the supplications of the martyrs. Here then we find intercession by them, not prayer to them. Thirdly, It is to be considered, that these forty martyrs were all Cappadocians* of that country, and so being, as I suppose, not long since deceased, might retain some particular remembrance of the place of their nativity, and near relations. There is not the same reason of praying to saints, who never knew us or we them. Fourthly, In that very place St. Basil affirmeth, that these forty martyrs, not severally, but all together were at the same time with divers persons in distant places, which, whether it be a truth or no, I appeal to the judgment of any learned Papist. They, in some things, reject the sayings of the Fathers, as well as we. Lastly, He speaketh only of the place and time of their annual festivity, which will not amount to a

* Ibid.

sufficient ground of invocation in any place, and at any time of need of any saint.

I now pass on to St. Chrysostom, who, Hom. 44. in Gen. Hom. 5. in Matth. Hom. *de profectu Evang.* and elsewhere, exhorteth his hearers not to rely on the intercession of others, but to go immediately to God themselves, propounding to them the example of the woman of Canaan,* who was never the better for the apostles' intercession, who entreated not Peter or James to beg for her, but went directly to Christ herself, and received a better answer from him. Then he addeth, there is no need of intercessors with God.†

I come to Theodoret, who in his comment Coloss. 2. hath these words, which give a deadly blow to this new point of faith, to wit, worshipping angels, mentioned and condemned by St. Paul in that chapter, ver. 18. They, saith he, who defended the law, persuaded the Colossians to worship angels, saying that the law was given by them. Observe, their reason is not because they were gods or creators of the world, but deliverers of the law, as St. Stephen noteth, Acts vii. This error, saith he, remained a long time in Phrygia and Pisidia; wherefore the Synod of Laodicea, not far distant from Colosse, forbid by a law or canon praying to angels, and to this day (adds he) are to be seen the oratories (not of any heathenish idol), but of St. Michael the archangel. This they advised, pretending or under a show of voluntary humility; for they said, God himself could not be seen or comprehended, neither could be approached unto, and we must gain his favour through the angels. Thus Theodoret. Here we have the original of the worshipping of angels, to wit, certain heretics condemned by St. Paul, by the Council of Laodicea and Theodoret. We may note also, that the argument used by the Romanists to establish this pretended article of faith is borrowed from heretics, to wit, that God being infinite and incomprehensible, it becometh not the humility of sinful creatures to make immediate addresses to him, but to use the intercession of angels, the favourites of God. Cardinal Baronius is so nettled with this testimony of Theodoret, that notwithstanding his pretended reverence of the Fathers, he saith plainly, "*Theodoretique pace dictum sit, non assequitur mentem Pauli*;"‡ let it be spoken by the good leave of Theodoret, that he understandeth

* Hom. 12. in Matth.

† V. Ambrose infra.

‡ Ad Ann. Christi 60. sect. 17, 22.

not St. Paul's meaning." But by Baronius's leave, I think Theodoret, though no cardinal, understood St. Paul's meaning as well, yea far better than he. The canon of the Council of Laodicea related by Theodoret, we find expressed in these words: "It becometh not Christians leaving the Church to run to angels (their oratories), and to hold meetings of an abominable idolatry." Where you see running to, *i. e.* as Theodoret understood it, praying to and so worshipping angels at their oratories, is condemned by the Council as no less crime (though Papists cannot endure to hear it) than abominable idolatry. Caranza, a Popish translator of the old trade, ignorantly or wickedly turns ἀγγέλους *angelos*, angels, into *angulos*,* corners. But according to the old saying, *Veritas non querit angulos*, truth seeketh not these corners.

I had almost forgot the good old Father Epiphanius,† in all whose writings Bellarmine, it seemeth, could find nothing for invocation of saints; but we can produce what is directly against it. Hæres. 74, *contra Collyrid.* he condemneth certain fond women of more zeal than knowledge, who, like those in Jeremiah,‡ offered up cakes to the Virgin Mary as the queen of heaven (a title the Roman Catholics have, little to her honour, put upon her), saying, if God will not have angels worshipped, how much less the daughter of Ann, born as other women (*ergo*, in original sin). What then do we, as Romanists calumniate us, or Epiphanius, deny Mary her due honour? No, we say with Epiphanius, "Let her be in honour, but let God alone be adored:" let none worship Mary, she is to be honoured (as we really grant), but she is not given us πρὸς προσκύνησιν, to be bowed to, or worshipped; so that no religious worship is to be given to her. Certainly these foolish women were not so silly as to take the holy Virgin for a goddess or deity (but adored her as the mother of Christ), for then they had been plain heathens rather than, as Epiphanius esteemed them, heretics. Surely, if offering up to the Virgin Mary a few cakes was heretical and unlawful, is it not much worse to offer up to her the evangelical sacrifices of (to say nothing now of their masses in honour of her) prayers, vows, and thanksgivings, which themselves acknowledge to be acts of *latria*, or divine worship, of which their offices of the Virgin Mary and books of devotion are

* Can. 35.

† [Hæres. 79. Adver. Collyridian. p. 1064. Colon. 1682.]

‡ Jer. vii. 18.

brimful.* In them they beg of her grace and glory: affirm (which is sacrilegious blasphemy) that God hath made over the kingdom of his mercy to her. They term her the mother of mercy and fountain of grace, the queen of heaven, their life and only hope. In a word, they style her, as Cardinal Bembus, *deam*, a goddess. Is not this far to exceed the Collyridian heretics? Is not this adoring of her gross idolatry?

I come now to the learned Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, in his sixth book against Julian the apostate, who objected that the Christians, instead of many gods, worshipped many miserable men, to wit, Christ and the martyrs: to which he answereth, "We worship Christ a man, but God as well as man." Where we may observe, that the grounds of worshipping the man Christ Jesus is, because he was God as well as man, not a religious man or saint only: as for the martyrs, we, saith Cyril, worship them, not λατρευτικῶς, with *latría*, or divine worship, but σχετικῶς καὶ τιμητικῶς, relatively and honourably (that is, with honourable respect), such, saith St. Augustine, as we yield to holy men in this life in respect of their piety and godliness. Then he sheweth wherein the honour given to martyrs did consist, to wit, in a reverend regard to their Θήκας, tombs or monuments, in crowning them with praises as conquerors; and concludes, we bestow on them τὴν ἀμάραντον μνημῆν, an immortal or never-withering memory. But no mention at all of any religious (though the grounds of honouring martyrs is their piety and religion) worship, invocation, and adoration.

The same Cyril, on the 16th chapter of St. John, hath these words: "No man cometh to the Father but by the Son." Hence he termeth himself "the door and way," who, as he is the Son and God, bestoweth with the Father all good things on us. As our Mediator and High Priest presenteth our prayers to God; and hence concludeth, we must therefore pray in the name of our Saviour, if we would be heard of God.

St. Ambrose, *de obitu Theodosii*, speaketh to the same purpose, "Thou, O Lord, art alone to be invocated, *solus rogan-*

* Aquin. 2. 2. quæst. 88. art. 5. V. Chemit. Exam. p. 609, 610, et 580, 581. Biel in Can. Missæ, lect. 8. Chemnit. supra, p. 585, 595. See Bishop Andrews' Answer to Cardinal Perron. O fœlix Puerpera, nostra plans scelera, Jure matris impera Redemptori.

thus es, art only to be prayed unto." On the Epistle to the Romans, c. i. he hath these remarkable words, spoken I confess of heathens, but too justly applicable to Papists, who use the very same excuses: "being," said he, "ashamed of their neglect of God the Creator,* by worshipping creatures rather than him, they use a miserable shift, saying, by them, *i. e.* by angels and dead heroes, men may go to God, as by counts or earls or courtiers we use to go to the king." It is our adversaries' ordinary similitude. What saith St. Ambrose† to it? "Is any man so mad and unmindful of his own safety (it being *læsa majestas*, treason) as to give the honour of the king to a count, and not judge themselves guilty who yield the honour of God to a creature, and adore, leaving the Lord, their fellow-servants, as if there were any thing more to be given to God? For therefore we go to the king by lords and captains, because he is a man; but to God, to whom nothing is hid, and who knoweth all men's deserts, there is no need of an intercessor but a devout mind." This is plain.

I go on to St. Jerome, who, in his Epitaph on Nepotian, acknowledgeth, that although the saints departed possibly pray for us, yet they do not hear our prayers or apostrophies to them: "Whatsoever I shall say is as if I said nothing, for he (Nepotian) heareth me not."‡ It is also not unworthy of our observation, as Chemnitius hath noted,§ that St. Jerome, in his book against Vigilantius, who condemned invocation of saints, censures him not as an heretic for so doing. If it had been then a point of faith, no doubt St. Jerome would not have spared him. Yea, in his epistle to Riparius he saith of angels and dead saints or martyrs, *nec colimus nec adoramus*, "we neither adore them (with *λατρία*) nor worship them (with *δουλεία*, an inferior religious worship), although (as we Protestants do) *honoramus*, we honour them.

I will end with St. Augustine,|| in his 22nd book, *de Civitate Dei*, c. 10, he saith "The saints are at the communion named by the priest, but not invocated." In the Canon of the Mass,

* Rom. i. 25. [Ambros. in Rom. c. i. tom. v. Paris. 1690.] [De obitu Theod. tom. iiii. p. 1207.]

† Tertull. de Præscr. c. 8. saith the same. Rev. xxii. 9. See Chrysost. de Pœnit. Hom. 4. et de profectu Evangel.

‡ Ille non audit.

§ Examen Concilii Trident.

|| Nominantur, non invocantur. [De Ver. Relig. c. 55. vol. i. p. 786. Paris, 1679.]

Commemorantes et memoriam facientes, prayer is directed to God only. In his 8th book, *de Civitate Dei*, c. 17, 22, 27, he affirmeth expressly,* “that whatsoever religious services were performed at the tombs of the martyrs, as prayers, sacrifices, thanksgivings, were offered not to them, but to God.” So *contra Faust.* lib. 20. c. 21, *Quicquid offertur, Deo offertur*. In his epistle to Maximus the Grammarian, “Know,” saith St. Augustine, “that of catholics” (true catholics, not Roman), “no dead man is worshipped:” and in his book of True Religion, c. 55, our religion stands not in worshipping the dead. They seek not such honour. This they would have, that we with them worship one God according to the angel’s admonition, Revel. xxii. 9. Martyrs are to be honoured (as Origen, Cyril, Epiphanius granted) for imitation, not adored for religion; or, as he expresseth it, *Cont. Faustum.* l. 20. c. 21, *colimus Martyres*, &c. we worship or honour martyrs with a worship of love and fellowship, with which the saints in this life are worshipped. Is any religious worship, properly so called, to be given to saints or religious persons by us in this life? Let our adversaries consider this. Lastly, in his book *de Cura pro Mortuis*, c. 10, 11, 12, he overthroweth the principal grounds and reasons on which invocation of saints is built. For, first, he judgeth it very probable at least, that the saints or martyrs did not really and personally appear to their friends,† although it was believed by many, but in imagination or appearance only. Secondly, he proveth (which he saith he knew would be ill taken by some), that the souls of the departed saints are in a place where they see or know not what is done by or happens to their nearest relations, from God’s promise to Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 18, that he should not see all the evil he would bring on his people; as also from those words of Isaiah,‡ “Though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not.” Whence he infers, *si tanti patriarchæ*, &c. If such great patriarchs were ignorant of what happened to the people who sprang from them, how are the dead interested or concerned in knowing and helping their friends? He confirmeth his conclusion thus:

* Nos Martyribus non Tempia, sicut Diis, sed memorias (sicut hominibus mortuis) fabricamus, &c. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 22. c. 10. similiter, lib. 8. cap. ultimo. Charitate, non servitute. Ibid. [Ibid. vol. 7. p. 673. Ep. 42.] [Ibid. vol. 2. p. 843.]

† Compare Basil. M. in Mamantem.

‡ Isai. lxiii. 16.

“If the dead were interested in the affairs of the living, or spake to us in dreams, my dear mother would no night be absent from me.” But it is true, as in the Psalms, “my father and my mother have forsaken me,” &c. If our parents have forsaken us, who else among the dead know what we do or suffer? Now our adversaries grant, that unless the saints departed know our particular state and wants, it is vain and to no purpose to pray unto them. Thirdly, he answers an objection drawn from Dives’ desiring Abraham to send to his brethren on earth, wherefore he knew what they did. To this he replieth, Dives had such or so great a care of the living, although he knew not what they did, as we have of the dead, although what they do we know not in particular. It was only a general care or well-wishing. But Abraham knew they had Moses and the prophets. To this he answereth, that he might know it by the information of Lazarus. Fourthly, he inquireth how the saints come *postea*, afterwards (so that this knowledge cometh too late to ground prayer to saints in present extremities and sudden danger). He answereth, *Possunt ab angelis, possunt Deo revelante cognoscere*, they may know it by angels who are conversant with us, or by revelation from God; they may, he saith not positively that they do. Fifthly, he maketh a difference (which the Romanists take little notice of) between martyrs and other saints, and denies that because martyrs, *per divinam potentiam*, miraculously, or by special dispensation, are sometimes here on earth in their temples; therefore we are to think the same of all dead saints generally, or that they can come to us *quando volunt*, when they will, as Bellarmine determines.* But miraculous dispensations are no safe rule for ordinary supplications to all saints promiscuously. Lastly, supposing it true that the living are helped some way or other by martyrs prayed unto, he saith, “whether it be by their being present in so many distant places at the same time, where their memories (*i. e.* monuments or churches) are, or (which no doubt he could not but think more probable) whether they, being in some place remote from human converse, are yet generally praying for such as pray (not to them, but God, who might employ angels in answering their requests), as we pray in the general for the dead, although we know not where they are, or what they do, *definire non audeo*, I dare not resolve.

* De Sanct. Beatit. lib. 1. c. 20. [Vol. 2. p. 410. col. 2. et 418. col. 2. Prag. 1721.]

From all which we may easily discern how uncertain St. Augustine was concerning the presence, knowledge, and assistance of saints departed, afforded to some, not who pray to them but to God: from whence we may certainly conclude, that invocation of dead saints was no part of St. Augustine's creed, but at utmost a probable and doubtful opinion only, as we have seen before from the writings of the Greek Fathers, Nazianzen, Basil, and others.

I know well, our adversaries urge much Nazianzen's oration on Cyprian, and how a virgin, assaulted by the devil, prayed to the Virgin Mary to help her.

But Gelasius, with the authority of the Roman Church, condemns that book of the conversion of St. Cyprian, which Nazianzen supposed to be genuine, as false and supposititious; neither is it at all probable that St. Cyprian was ever a magician, of which neither himself in the relation of his conversion, nor Pontius* in his life, nor any more ancient creditable writer maketh any mention.

They glory also much in those words of St. Chrysostom,† “He that is emperor standeth praying to the saints, to the tent-maker and fisherman, Peter and Paul, to intercede with God for him.”

To which I first oppose St. Augustine's words:‡ “The emperor, at the tomb of Peter, prayeth not to Peter, but God.” Secondly, the homily is supposititious; for, as Bellarmine himself granteth, the true homilies of Chrysostom *ad Popul. Antiochen.* were but twenty-one. Thirdly, Chrysostom held, that Christian saints departed are not till the resurrection admitted to the sight of God, and, consequently, knowledge of our prayers. Of which opinion were many of the ancient Fathers, quoted for this invocation by our adversaries.

I come to another article of Pope Pius's Roman Catholic faith, to wit, worshipping images.§ Concerning which it is certain, that the Christian churches, for three hundred years after Christ, had in them no images to worship. To which purpose it is remarkable what Ælius Lampridius,|| an heathen historian, writes: “When Adrian the emperor had commanded

* Lib. 2. Epist. 2.

† Hom. 66. ad Popul. Antioch.

‡ Epist. 42. non. Petro, sed. Deo. [vol. 2. p. 843, ut supra.] De script. Eccl. ad ann. 398. Hom. 39. in 1 Cor. 15. Sixtus Senens.

§ The temple at Jerusalem had none. Philo de Leg. ad Caium.

|| In the Life of Alexander Severus. lib. 7. Epist. 109.

that temples should be made in all cities without images, it was presently conceived that he did prepare those temples for Christ." Secondly, that worshipping them came in above six hundred years after Christ; for Pope Gregory the Great himself allowed not of worshipping images, as is manifest from his epistle to Serenus, who broke down images in some churches,* because the people worshipped them. Thirdly, that a great part of the writings of the ancient Fathers, Tertullian, Origen, Arnobius, Lactantius, &c. are spent in condemning the worship of images, or using them as helps of devotion.

It is true, they speak directly against the images and idols of the heathens, but most of their reasons fight generally against all religious use or worship of images of what kind soever, especially of images made to represent God himself. Let us then hear the Fathers, and judge.

Justin Martyr† saith, "It is ὕβρις, an injury or contumely to God to make an image of him ἐξ ἀρίμων, of base and unworthy wood or stone:‡ that we ought not to worship the work of men's hands." Are not Popish images of the Trinity the work of men's hands, made of wood and stone, as well as those of the heathens?

Origen in cap. 1. *ad Rom.* and lib. 3. in *Celsum*, [vol. 1. p. 456. Par. 1733.] saith the same; of whom more by and by.

Athenagoras in *Legat.* to the heathens, asking why the Christians worshipped not statues? answers, because material statues and God very much differ. Not the world (or any part of it), but its Maker is to be worshipped. "Men," saith he to the Emperor, "pass by or through your palace, and above all honour you. In your games they crown not the harp, but the harpers. We submit not an immaterial spirit (*i. e.* the soul) to worship material and beggarly elements, *i. e.* images." Doth not this confute submitting our souls in religious worship to Popish images? Are not they material? &c.

Irenæus testifieth,§ that the Gnostic or Carpocratian heretics (the first worshippers of images we can find amongst Christians) crowned the image of Christ made by Pilate, as

* Quia eas adorari vetuisses, omnino laudavimus, &c. lib. 9. Epist. 9. He commends him for forbidding the worshipping them, though not his breaking them.

† Apol. 2. p. 44.

‡ P. 52.

§ Lib. 1. c. 24. Epiphan. Panar. Hær. 27. et in Anaceph. p. 525. c. 20. [Irenæus, l. 1. p. 2. c. 25. p. 105. Venet. 1734.]

they said, and worshipped it. The Simonians, followers of Simon Magus, worshipped his image, and of Helena his whore. Ib. ch. 26. The Basilidian heretics used also images, Ib. ch. 23. Here we see the primitive antiquity and first original of worshipping images; the authors were then condemned heretics, but now their abettors are the only true Catholics.

Tertullian saith: * "We Christians worship (he speaks generally) no statues or images, which crows, rats, and spiders understand." Do they not as well understand Popish images? They seem to understand them better than Romanists. Yea, the ancient Fathers so detested images, that they condemned the very art of painting and graving, excommunicating such Christians, who, only to get a livelihood, made them, as he sheweth, *de Idololat.* c. 4, 5, 6.

In like manner Clemens Alexand. in *Protreptico*,† where he farther saith, "I have learned to tread upon earth (*i. e.* images or statues), not to worship them."‡

It would be too tedious to quote all that Origen hath written against worshipping images in his books only against Celsus: I will mention some few passages. Lib. 3. he saith, "we instil first of all, into all young Christians, a contempt of all images, and lift up their minds (images then lift not up the mind to God) from veneration of creatures to God."

In the Jewish commonwealth no maker of images was suffered, which turn the mind from God.§ Our new Catholics say, they turn the mind to God. In his sixth book he writeth thus: || "We count them rude and ignorant, who are not ashamed to speak to senseless things, to beg life of the dead, although some of them confess they are not gods (as Papists excuse themselves), but signs and representations of them only."¶ However, they are ignorant in imagining, that a vain smith or carpenter can make (so much as) a resemblance of divinity. In the same book he adds, "They are blind who regard the fallacious arts of painters or carvers." In his eighth book, Celsus the heathen accuseth the Christians for not

* Apologet. c. 12. [toto mundo ejusmodi artibus interdixit servis Dei. De Idol. c. 4. Par. 1695.]

† V. p. 46. and Strom. 5.

‡ *ἡμεῖς οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν*. Protr. p. 38. Simiæ Imaginibus non decipiuntur, vos deteriores. Protrept. ad Gentes, p. 39. [Vid. Cohortatio ad Gentes, vol. 1. p. 104. Edit. Wirceb.]

§ Lib. 4. Cont. Celsum.

|| Page 284.

¶ See Cassander Consult. Art. 21.

having, yea, not enduring to look on images :* which none but fools take to be gods themselves (the heathens were not so foolish), but *signa*, signs or representations of them ; yea, not gods, but *dæmons*, angels. To which Origen replieth both for Jews and Christians : in regard of those words, “Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. And thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image,” &c. It cannot be that any who knoweth God, should pray also to images. Do these reasons confute only heathen image-worshippers ? Did not the primitive Fathers and Christians understand those texts as Protestants now do ? He adds, we have also images (of what kind ?) not made by impure workmen, but by the word of God, temperance, justice, and other virtues. So that Origen, in the name of the Christians in his days, rejects and condemns all material images in order to religious worship.

Arnobius brings in the heathens saying, *non ipsa tinemus simulachra*, &c.† we fear not the images, but those whom they represent, *i. e.* gods (who were but dead men), *dæmons*, angels and heroes. Yet he grants, that by them they struck the vulgar (as Papists do) with fear and dread of God. And lib. the 7th, he acquaints us, that the original of images was, that men could not conceive what God is, and therefore resolved to make him like themselves.

Lactantius, *Instit.* lib. 1. saith, “We cannot worship God, if we give the same honour to any thing else.” But the Papists, as Aquinas, Cajetan, Catechismus Romanus, Azorius, Pedro de Crabrera, &c. acknowledge and defend, they give to the images of God and Christ *latria*, *i. e.* the very same divine honour they yield to God and Christ themselves.‡ In vain then do they “worship God, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men ;” yea, so besotted are they with their images, that they condemn Durand as little less than a heretic for saying, “that images are adored only improperly, because they put men in mind of the persons represented by them ;”§ so that they properly adore not the images, but adore and worship the prototypes before them. Contrarily Azorius affirms, as also Jacob Naclantus following Aquinas, that it is the constant

* See Minutius Felix, Arnobius, &c.

† Lib. 6.

‡ Part 3. qu. 25. Art. 3. Azor. *Instit.* l. 9. c. 6. Bishop Usher's Answer to Malon.

§ Bellarmine de Imag. cap. 21. lib. 2. [Vid. Durand. lib. 1. c. 3.]

opinion of their divines, that the image is to be worshipped with the same worship given to him whose image it is;* seeing then for example Christ is to be adored with *latria*, so must his image also. The faithful, saith Naclantus, must not only *adorare coram imagine, sed et adorare imaginem*; before the image, but adore the image itself. To return to Lactantius. In his 2nd book, he disputes against images thus: images are of the absent and dead; but God or the gods are living and in all places. The heathens replied, they are present only in their images. Then, saith Lactantius, when they are present what need of images? Again, the heathen idolaters fear lest all their religion should be vain, if they see not present before their eyes what they worship, and therefore place images before them. Do not Romanists use images to the same purpose? He adds, if images (any images of whomsoever) had any understanding they would worship men as more noble creatures; and concludes, it is beyond all doubt there is no religion (at least true) where there is an image, but only a mimical show of it.† This is plain and home.

The ancient Council of Elliberis, A.D. 310, decree, that pictures ought not to be in churches, lest that which is adored or worshipped should be painted on walls. Melchior Canus (out of his great reverence no doubt of antiquity) is not afraid to charge this Council not only with imprudence,‡ but impiety for making such a canon.

The images of Christ, and the woman he healed of her bloody issue, as also the pictures of Peter and Paul in colours, Eusebius, *Hist.* lib. 7. c. 14, rather excuseth than commendeth, as implying some favour or imitation of heathenish custom to honour their benefactors, but hath not a word of any sort of worship given by any to them. *De Præparat.* lib. 3. c. 3, he saith, "What corporeal thing can be like God ;

* In Rom. c. 1. Constans opinia. V. Cassand. Consult. de Imagin. In Rom. c. 1. fol. 42. quoted by Bishop Usher, in his Answer to Malon, and Bellar. l. 2. de Imag. c. 20, 21.

† Religio nulla ubicunque simulachrum, sed minus, ch. 18, 10. [lib. 2. vol. 1. p. 137. Wirceb. 1783.] So Varro apud Augustin. Can. 36.

‡ [In canon 36, the Council of Elliberis, A.D. 305, decided, Placuit picturas in Ecclesia esse non debere ne quod colitur et adoratur, in parietibus depingatur. Lab. Conc. vol. 1. p. 974.] Non solum imprudenter, sed impie, &c. Loc. Theol. lib. 5. c. 4.

§ Ἐθνηκή συνήθεια. See Tertull. adv. Marcion. l. 4. c. 22.

when we cannot have an image of any man's soul?" He affirmeth, that there was no image in the Jewish temple,* (*V. Philo de legatione*) and chap. 3, that Pythagoras, taught by Moses, advised the Romans not to make any image of God; whence for one hundred and seventy years they had no images in their temples.

Epiphanius,† conformably to the canon of Elliberis, finding the image *Christi vel Sancti*, of Christ or some saint painted on a veil in a church, rent it in pieces, as contrary to the divine law. In another place he telleth us the Virgin Mary was to be honoured, but not given for us to worship; if not her person, much less, say we, her image. In the same place, confuting the Collyridian heresy, he termeth the making images of God and dead men to be a coarse, idolatrous and devilish practice, whereby the minds of men go a whoring from the only true God.

Athanasius *adversus Gentes*,‡ brings in the heathens pleading for their images or idols, that they used them as letters or laymen's books (as Papists speak) to help them to spell out the nature of God, of which they are marks and significant characters. To which he answereth, that then they ought to deify the maker of those images, and prefer the artificers before their work made by them; yea, he saith, in the beginning, that Christ the image of God was made man on purpose to draw men off from the use of images. The same hath Eusebius Cæsariensis, adding, that true Christians spit on the images of the dead, and worship God only. ●

Chrysostom, Hom. 4. *de Pœnitentia*, Let us always fly to God both willing and able to relieve us. If we be to make our addresses to men, we must apply ourselves untò porters, door-keepers, &c. In God there is no such thing. In like manner, Hom. 12. in Matth. If we need not apply ourselves to saints or angels, much less to their images.

St. Ambrose, c. 1. *ad Rom.* agreeth with St. Chrysostom

* Ibid. l. 9. c. 2. Clem. Strom. 555. saith the same, p. 304. Clem. Strom. 1.

† Epist. ad Joannem Hierosolymit. Contra Collyrid. Hæres. 79. [tom. ii. p. 317. Colon. 1682.] Τὸ εἰδοποιὸν ἐπιτηδεύμα καὶ διαβολικὸν ἔγχλημα, &c. Hæres. 79. [Edit. Petav. vol. i. p. 108.]

‡ Εἰς ὑπερβασιν μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκβασιν τῆς γνώσεως, Clem. Al. Protrept. Divina majestas in simulachrorum stoliditate facile contemnitur. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 4. c. 31.

above, and, speaking of idolaters, saith, they do not deny God, yet they serve the creature, whereby they are not excused, but more accused, because knowing God, they honour him not as God. And *de fuga seculi*, cap. ult. Rachel hid her father's idols, so doth the Church;* for she knoweth not vain figures of images, but understands the true substance of the Trinity. Let us then leave the shadow, who seek after the sun.

St. Jerome,† in Psalm. cxiii. Dost thou make a God with thine own hands to adore? If thou didst adore a beast, it were evil; yet a beast hath eyes and feet; but that which thou adorest (with *latria*) neither sceth nor moveth.

I will add St. Augustine, in Psalm cxiii. and cxiv. The holy Scriptures arm us against such as say, I worship not this visible image, but the *Numen* or Deity that dwelleth in it; or as others, I neither worship image nor any spirit, but by the corporeal effigies or picture, I see the sign of that which I ought to worship. St. Paul with one sentence condemns both, who have "changed the truth of God into a lie, and served the creature rather than the Creator," &c. In the former part he condemns images, in the latter their interpretations of images, "turn the truth into a lie." But who prayeth looking on an image, who is not so affected, that he thinketh he is heard of it? and hopes he shall have what he desireth? For this the outward figure of members torts from us, that the mind living in the body thinketh the more that the body, so like its own body, hath sense also. The like we find in his 49th epistle, who doubts that idols want all sense? Yet when they are placed aloft in an honourable sublimity, by the very likeness of living members, although dead and without sense, they affect our minds, the veneration of a multitude being added thereunto; which crazy and pestilent distempers the Scripture healeth, saying, "they have eyes but see not." Whether images in Popish churches have not the very same influence and effect on ignorant and superstitious women, let impartial men, and such as have travelled abroad amongst them, determine. The same St. Augustine quoteth and commendeth a saying of Varro, "that they who brought in images for the people, both took away the fear of a deity (rendered

* Nazianz. in Pascha Orat. 2. saith the same.

† In St. Jerome's and St. Augustine's days, there were no images in churches, say Cassander, Consult. de Imag. Polydore Virg. de Invent. rerum, and Erasm. in Catech.

base and contemptible by representations of wood and stone), and added error, *i. e.* false and unworthy apprehensions of God."*

To all this it will I suppose be answered, first, that the Fathers inveigh against making images of God, or false gods, not saints.

I reply, 1. Some of them expressly condemn all images. 2. Do not Roman Catholics (though some of their own writers condemn it) make images or pictures of God the Father, in the likeness of an old man, and of the Holy Ghost of a dove? True, say they, but we do it not to represent the nature of God, but certain properties and actions appertaining to God: I do not wonder, they say they do not what cannot be done, to wit, to represent by an image the infinite, invisible and incomprehensible nature of God; but herein they say what even the heathens said of their idols. For Hermes Trismegistus quoted by Cyril, Xenophon by Minutius Felix, Olympius by Sozomen,† confessed, that it is impossible to signify the incorporeal God by a body, and that the form of God cannot be seen, that invisible spirits or heavenly powers dwell in those corporeal images, but they were not the powers themselves.

It is granted, God and the Holy Ghost did appear in such likenesses, what is that to us? We have an express command‡ not to make to ourselves any likeness of anything in heaven, &c. Is not God the Father with the Holy Ghost in heaven?

Secondly, they answer, that they give religious worship § to images, not for themselves, *propter se*, but for the sake of the persons they represent.

The heathens, as we have seen above, said the very same. If Romish worship of images be lawful, it will be difficult to condemn or convince the heathens of idolatry. The Jews did not worship the calf for itself, but as a representative of God.

Lastly, they affirm, that they yield to images a mean, low and inferior worship, not what belongs to God only.

I answer that, as we have shewn above, they give to the images of God and crucifixes the same divine worship they yield unto God and Christ themselves. To say they give

* De Civitat. Dei, lib. 4. c. 9, et 31. [vol. vii. p. 111. ut supra.] [In Ps. 113. vol. 4. pp. 1260, 1262, 1306. Paris. 1681.]

† Hist. lib. 7. c. 15.

‡ Ne facias nisi et tibi Deus jusserit. Tertul. de Idololat. c.

§ V. Concil. Constant. 6. Can. 82. apud Caranzam.

images *latría*, and yet an inferior kind of such religious worship, is to contradict themselves; for all *latría*, as such, is *summus cultus*, the highest worship a creature can give: if they give them an inferior religious honour, it is not *latría*.

I come now to the capital article of the Roman Catholic faith, the Pope's supremacy over all emperors, kings, bishops, councils, churches and Christians throughout the world. Concerning the Fathers before the Nicene Council, called above three hundred years after Christ, we need not make any strict inquiry, seeing *Æneas Sylvius** (who was Pope himself afterwards) confesseth, that before this Council *aliquis, sed non magnus*, some, but no great respect was given to the Roman bishops. In *Clemens Romanus*, *Ignatius*, *Justin Martyr*, *Tatianus*, *Athenagoras*, I find no mention of any supremacy in the Bishop of Rome.

Come we then to the ancient Father *Irenæus*. He, in his third book, cap. 12. quoting the words of the Church of Jerusalem, Acts xxii. 23, 25, saith, "these are words of that Church, from which every Church had its beginning."† If every Church, then the Roman. How then can she be *mater et magistra*, the mother and mistress of all Churches, as is now pretended by our Romanists? This was that *Irenæus*, bishop of Lyons in France, who sharply reprov'd *Victor*, bishop of Rome, for threatening or attempting at least to excommunicate the bishops and churches of Asia‡ for not observing Easter on the same day he did, as *Eusebius* relateth.

At the same time lived *Polycrates*, the renowned bishop of Ephesus (with whom many catholic bishops meeting in several Councils concurred), who opposed Pope *Victor's* sentence, and professed he was not at all terrified with his threatened excommunication, but resolutely persisted in the tradition and custom received from his predecessors, particularly *John the Evangelist*, as we find in *Eusebius*, lib. 5. Hist. c. 23*.

Hence it is evident, that *Polycrates*, as also *Irenæus*, did not look upon the Bishop of Rome as prince and sovereign head of the Church, or more infallible than any other bishop. It is true, *Irenæus* had a great reverence for the Roman Church,

* Epist. 288.

† V. Epist. Concilii Constant. 1. c. 9. Epist. ad Damasum.

‡ Lib. 5. Hist. Eccl. c. 15. [*Euseb. Hist. Eccles. v. 24. Vales. in Locum, p. 105. C. D. Paris. 1659.*]

and testifieth to her honour, that in his days the apostolic doctrine or tradition remained pure and uncorrupt, which he opposed to the heretical novelties of the Valentinians. But this no way proveth that she had supreme jurisdiction over all churches. But in regard it would be long, as he saith, "to reckon up all apostolical churches, as of Corinth, Ephesus," &c.* (to whom he giveth the same testimony of purity of doctrine) he instances in Rome, *propter potentio rem principalitatem*, in regard of its more powerful principality, known to all. But these words plainly enough relate, not to the Roman Church immediately as a Christian Church, but to the city of Rome, which at that time was the imperial city and head of the world. Alas! what powerful principality could the poor persecuted Church of Rome enjoy then, living under heathen emperors?† It is not therefore meant strictly and properly of an ecclesiastical, but civil power and principality of the city of Rome, in which the Church of Rome sojourned, as St. Ignatius‡ writeth to them, whereby, through concourse of all nations, it was rendered more conspicuous and honourable to the world. The words of Æneas Sylvius before-mentioned confirm the same.

In Clemens Alexandrinus I find nothing concerning this matter.

I will go on to Tertullian: [*De præscrip. adv. hereticos*, cap. 36. p. 215. Paris. 1675.] "Run through," saith he, "the Apostolical Churches. If ye be near Achaia, ye have Corinth; if Macedonia, Philippi and Thessalonica: *si Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam*; if ye live near Italy, ye have Rome." Where first observe, that he with Irenæus ascribeth the same authority to Corinth, Philippi, &c. which he doth to Rome. Secondly, he speaketh not of jurisdiction, but matter of faith and apostolic doctrine. Thirdly, it is conditional, if you be near Italy, you have Rome. Tertullian never thought that all Christian churches were subject to Rome, either as to doctrine or government, or were bound to appeal and submit unto her. Again, chap. 20, the Apostles having first preached the Gospel in Judea, promulgated the same doctrine of faith to the nations.—In regard of this doctrine they are accounted apostolical.—Wherefore so many and great churches are that one first Church from the Apostles, of which all are.

* Lib. 3. cap. 3.

† V. Concil. Chalcedon. infra.

‡ Epist. ad Roman.

are first *omnes primæ*, and all apostolical; whilst all prove one unity : now if all are first, all apostolical, how can the Roman Church claim any primacy or principality over all, even apostolical Churches ?

Origen,* in Matth. xvi. "Every disciple of Christ is that rock : if you think the Church to be built on Peter only, what will become of John and the rest of the Apostles ? What was spoken to Peter, was spoken to all the Apostles and Christians. All are Peter and the rock. The keys were not only given to Peter." This now at Rome is no less than heresy. Let us hearken to St. Cyprian,† who usually wrote to Pope Cornelius as to his brother, colleague, and fellow bishop, not as his prince and sovereign, or universal bishop, especially in his 72nd epistle directed to him : "In which matter we force no man, we give law to no man, seeing every bishop hath the free liberty of his own will in the administration or government of his own church, being to give account of his actions (not to the Bishop of Rome, but) to God." In his preface before the Council of Carthage he hath these words : "None of us maketh himself bishop of bishops (*i.e.* supreme universal bishop), or compelleth his colleagues by tyrannical terror to obedience," &c. where he seemeth to reflect on Pope Stephen. Compare those words of Tertullian *de Pudicit.* c. 10. The high priest, the bishop of bishops (meaning the bishop of Rome) saith, I absolve adulterers ; which no doubt he spake ironically, and by way of irrision. In his Epistle 74, he writeth against Pope Stephen,‡ charging him with error, and pleading the cause of heretics against the Church of God. Can any man believe Cyprian took Pope Stephen for his supreme governor and infallible head of all churches ? But Firmilian,§ the famous bishop of Cappadocia, highly commended by Baronius, *ad Ann.* 258. *num.* 45, was not afraid to accuse the same Pope Stephen of open and manifest folly ; who, saith he, glorying, *de Episcopatus sui loco*, of his episcopal seat or see, and that he is successor to St. Peter, on whom the foundations of the Church were laid, maketh many rocks, and buildeth new churches. He addeth also, that the

* *Petra est omnis Christi imitator.* [Comment. in Matth. xvi. Rothomagi, 1668.]

† Epist. 45, 47, 49. [Cyprian, de Unitate Ecclesiæ, p. 107. Oxon. 1682.] [Sentent. 87. Episcop. Synod Carthag. Lab. tom. 1. p. 786.]

‡ *Ejus errorem denotabis, qui Hæreticorum causam defendit.*

§ A canonized saint, Menolog. Græc. in Octob. 28. Epist. 75.

Roman Church* was guilty of violating the ancient canons, and that Pope Stephen, by excommunicating so many Christian churches, excommunicated himself. I will add that noted passage of St. Cyprian,† *Idem cæteri quod Petrus*, &c. the rest of the Apostles were the same with Peter, endowed with an equal fellowship or copartnership of honour and power. They are all pastors, but the flock is but one, which is to be fed by all (not Peter only or his successors by virtue of “feed my sheep”) by unanimous consent, not by deputation by or subjection to Peter, and such as succeed him at Rome. A little before he saith, although Christ granted to all the Apostles, after his resurrection, *parem potestatem*, equal power, breathing on them the Holy Ghost, and saying, “whose sins ye remit,” &c. yet to manifest unity, he appointed one chair: he speaketh to Peter,‡ and “to thee will I give,” &c. singularly: why? not that Peter had a greater power or authority (which he expressly denied before) than the rest of the Apostles; but, saith St. Cyprian, to commend to us unity, that the Church ought to be one without schism to the end of the world; which is the intent of all that discourse. Now, if St. Peter had no supremacy over all the Apostles and churches, the Pope, as deriving it from him, can have just right to none. Let me add St. Cyprian’s 67th Epistle, where he adviseth him what to do concerning the heretical French bishop, whom he would not have the people to own, though he had surreptitiously obtained Pope Stephen’s confirmation. He addeth as a reason,§ we are many pastors, but we feed one flock, and we ought to gather and succour all the sheep; yea, if any of our society *e collegio nostro*, i.e. any bishop, should fall into heresy,|| and rent the Church, the rest ought to help; where he exempteth not any bishop, no not the Pope, from possibility of erring even heretically, as to be sure Pope Liberius and Honorius did.

In Arnobius and Lactantius I find nothing to our present purpose.

* Eos qui Romæ sunt, non ea in omnibus observare, quæ sunt ab origine tradita.

† De Unitate Eccles. Pari consortio prædicti honoris et potestatis.

‡ Although he said before of Peter, tibi dabo, &c. super illum unum edificat Ecclesiam suam, et illi pascendas mandat oves suas.

§ V. Epist. 68.

|| Si heresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit; subveniant cæteri. Epist. 67.

I pass to St. Hilary.* This is the one immoveable foundation; this is the rock of faith confessed by St. Peter, Thou art Christ the Son of God. Again, On this rock of confession the Church is built. This faith is the foundation of the Church.

In the same manner St. Chrysostom† often expounds the rock, Matth. xvi. of the *ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεως*, confession of the deity of Christ made by Peter in the name of the rest of the Apostles.

Add Theophylact, St. Basil of Seleucia, with others. Basil‡ the Great, Epist. 82. *ad Athanasium*, termeth Athanasius, in the name of the Greeks, their head, the leader and prince of ecclesiastical affairs, to whom they did fly for advice. Surely St. Athanasius, rather than the Arian heretic Pope Liberius, was like a rock unshaken in those days.

St. Jerome§ saith, the Church is built on the Apostles *ex æquo*, equally, not on Peter principally or wholly, much less on his successors, and that at Rome rather than Antioch.

St. Augustine agreeth, *Quid est super hanc petram*, &c. What is it? "On this rock will I build my Church," *super hanc fidem*, on this faith, "Thou art Christ the Son of God."

But sparing at present particular testimonies; I shall shew that all the four first General Councils,|| either expressly or by consequence and implicitly have refuted and overthrown the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. I begin with the first Nicene Council, [A.D. 315.] Can. 6. where we read, [Lab. Concil. vol. 2. p. 32. Paris. 1671.] "Let the ancient customs remain. The Bishop of Alexandria shall have the government of the churches of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, *Quoniam Episcopo Romano parilis mos est*, because the Bishop of Rome hath the like custom," *i.e.* to govern Rome

* De Trinit. l. 2. lib. 6. n. 674. Hæc fides est Ecclesie fundamentum, p. 174. [Lib. vi. Paris. 1652.]

† In locum Hom. 55. Christus ipse est Petra. [Τι οὖν ἔστι ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ; ὁμολογία ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν Serm. de Pent. tom. 6. p. 233. Paris. 1621.] Greg. M. in Psalm. Penitent. 5. Augustin. in Joann. Epist. 1. Tract. 10.

‡ See Liberius's Epistle to Athanasius. Opera Athan. tom. 1. lib. 1. in Jovinian. c. 14.

§ In 1 Epist. Joan. Tract. 10. [Vid. in Amos. lib. 3. c. 6. vol. 5. p. 263. Paris. 1602.]

|| These Pope Gregory the Great received as the four Gospels, lib. 1. Epist. 24. all Popes are sworn to them. Ad apicem observaturos Can. sicut Dist. 16. Hist. lib. 60. c. 23. et l. 1. c. 6. Roma metropolis Romanæ ditionis. Athanas. ad solitar. vit. agentes.

and the suburbicarian region, as Ruffinus, a Roman presbyter, understood it, and the precedent words plainly enough intimate. The Bishop of Alexandria is to govern his diocese as the Bishop of Rome doth the churches belonging to him of ancient custom. Here is a manifest limitation, or rather exclusion of the Bishop of Rome's universal jurisdiction.

Baronius, Bellarmine and Coriolanus answer, that those words, "because the Bishop of Rome hath the like custom," means no more but this, because the Bishop of Rome, *consuevit permittere*, hath used of old custom to permit the Bishop of Alexandria to govern those churches of Egypt, &c.

A strange gloss and a mere begging of the point in question: as if the right of governing all churches belonged to the Bishop of Rome, when the Council as of ancient custom, inviolable and equal to that of Rome (*parilis mos*), commit the government of those churches to the Bishop of Alexandria, as his ancient right; might not we say as well, that the patriarch of Alexandria permitted the Pope to govern the Church of Rome? It is evident enough from this canon, that the Nicene Fathers did not imagine that the supreme government of all churches did belong to the Bishop of Rome, or that the patriarch of Alexandria needed to supplicate him for a pall.

The first Council of Constantinople, [A.D. 381.] can. 2. [Lab. Concil. vol. 2. p. 947, ut supra,] forbids all bishops to encroach on the dioceses of others, lest they confound the churches: and can. 5, they decree, that the Bishop of Constantinople ought to have the honour of primacy next to the Bishop of Rome, in regard it was New Rome, to wit, made the imperial city by Constantine, who called it after his own name Constantinople. Here we see the Bishop of Rome is forbid, as well as others, *ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπεῖν*, to play the bishop in other men's dioceses, and that the Council, out of reverence to ancient custom, grants him a priority of place or order, not a superiority of power and jurisdiction. The General Council of Chalcedon expounds and confirms this 5th canon of Constantinople, who, can. 27, decree in these words: "Following in all things the decree of the 150 Fathers (to wit, in the Council of Constantinople before-mentioned), we decree the same concerning the privileges of the most holy Church of Constantinople, which is New Rome." Their reason is, for the Fathers Πατέρες, (not God the Father, nor Christ his Son, Matth. xvi. 16. but) the Fathers, the bishops, did of right give privileges to the throne ecclesiastical of Old Rome, because it

was the imperial city ; and upon the same consideration the 150 bishops (before mentioned) have granted to the throne of New Rome (*i.e.* Constantinople) ἴσα πρεσβεία, equal privileges ; rightly judging that the city which is honoured with the empire and senate, and enjoyeth equal privileges (*i.e.* civil) with Old Rome, the imperial city, should also in matters ecclesiastical be equally with her magnified and extolled, being the second in order after her. Here we see plainly, first, that the Church of Constantinople is in all ecclesiastical matters and privileges equally extolled and magnified with Old Rome. Gratian's corruption of this canon is abominable, for he translates it thus : " We decree that the seat of Constantinople may have not ἴσα, equal, but *similia*, like privileges with πρεσβυτέρα, not *senior*, old, but *superior*, superior Rome, *non tamen in Ecclesiasticis magnificatur ut illa*, but is not in ecclesiastical matters magnified as she is ;" whereas in the Greek it is ἐν ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, in ecclesiastical matters shall be equally extolled : an ignorant or shameless man. Secondly, Observe the reason why the Fathers in both Councils, being near 800 bishops, granted privileges and pre-eminences to the Bishop of Old Rome, was, because it was the imperial city, and upon the very same ground the Fathers in the Council of Chalcedon, judged it right and fit to grant the same and equal privileges to the Bishop of Constantinople, in regard it being made the seat or head of the empire by the Emperor Constantine. It was New Rome, or the imperial city. Here is no mention made of any divine right granted by Christ to Peter or his successors at Rome. This canon is of more weight than all the decrees of Popes, and the writings of all the schoolmen and Jesuits put together. It was confirmed in the sixth General Council, in *Trullo*, can. 36. as also by the emperors • Marcian, Justinian, *Novel.* 115. cap. 3, &c.

Our adversaries* allege, that this canon was surreptitiously obtained by the Bishop of Constantinople, Anatolius, when the Bishop of Rome's legates, with others, were gone out of the Council.

But Caranza,† a Popish collector of the Councils, informs us, that upon this complaint made by the legates, the canon was debated a second time, and confirmed by the bishops in council ; so much Binius, *Concil. tom.* 3. p. 464, et 465,

* In Edicto de Confir. Syn. Chalced. apud Binium, tom. 3. p. 471.

† Caranza, p. 369.

acknowledgeth also ; yea, the Bishop of Rome is desired by the Council to consent to it, as Baronius himself confesseth.

I hasten to the General Council of Ephesus [A. D. 438], where, upon complaint of the bishops of Cyprus, that the patriarch of Antioch claimed a power to ordain their bishops contrary to ancient custom, the Fathers decree, that they should enjoy their ancient right, adding a canon, whereby they forbid any bishop, not excepting the Roman, to invade the diocese of others, "lest the statutes of the Fathers be broken, and, under pretence of the sacred function, the tumour of secular power should creep in, and so unadvisedly, by little and little, we lose our liberty, which Christ hath purchased by his own blood." [Lab. Concil. vol. 3. p. 802, *ut supra.*] Thus those reverend bishops decree, as if by a prophetic spirit they had foreseen the future captivity of the Church under the subtle usurpation and tyranny of Popery.*

The answer given by the proctors of the Romish Court to this canon, as that of Chalcedon, or any other that opposeth their dominion, is,† the most holy Church of Rome approveth or receiveth not that Council or canon ; for all Councils, saith their great Cardinal Baronius, have more or less authority, a they are approved or not allowed by the Roman Church, or Pope. An answer which scarcely deserves a reply, and sheweth what esteem our Romanists have of even General Councils if they cross their ambitious designs.

I cannot omit that famous synodical epistle sent by the bishops of Africa, of whom St. Augustine was one, to the Bishop of Rome, Pope Celestine, which is an invincible bulwark or sea-wall against the inundation of Papal supremacy. It would be tedious to transcribe the whole letter, which is still extant,‡ and written directly against this new article of, not catholic, but Roman, faith. They first desire the Pope not easily to give audience to such as appealed from them to him, or to receive into his communion such as they had (as Apiarius, a most scandalous presbyter, amongst others) deservedly excommunicated:§ which was, say they, contrary to the Nicene canons, which respect bishops as well as inferior

* V. Bernard. ad Eugenium de Consid. lib. 3.

† Hunc Canonem Ecclesia Romana non recipit. Coriolanus, p. 285. Ad Ann. 361. l. 38.

‡ Codic. Canon. Ecclesiæ Africanæ in fine.

§ Ab aliis excommunicati, ab aliis ad communionem ne recipiantur sine synodo provinciali. Concil. Nicæn. Can. 5.

clerics. They tell him, that the canons of the Church had prudently provided that all controversies should be determined in the places where they arose, where the grace of the Holy Ghost would not be wanting to direct, unless any one can believe that God will inspire any one man (the Pope) with justice (*i. e.* just or right judgment), and deny it to multitudes of priests met in council. The African bishops thought no Christian man could believe this: but there are Roman Catholics who have made it an unquestionable truth, that though all Councils may err, yet the Pope, being infallibly assisted by the Holy Ghost, cannot. The African Fathers go on,* “How can a transmarine sentence (at Rome) be firm and good to which the necessary presence of witnesses, either in regard of sex or infirmity of age, and many other impediments, cannot be had? That any should be sent from your side (as legates suppose, *a latere*), we do not find in any council of Fathers, nor in the authentic canons of the Nicene. Do not send, upon any one’s request, your clerics as enforcers (to wit, of your sentence upon appeals), lest we seem to bring the smoky pride of the world into the Church.” So these holy bishops (I had almost said prophets), without fear or flattery, wrote of old to Christ’s universal vicar at Rome. As for the condemning appeals to the Pope, therein they trod in the steps, and use almost the very words of St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage,† and his colleagues, to Cornelius, bishop of Rome, to whom he wrote in this manner: *Cum statutum sit ab omnibus nobis*, &c “Whereas it is directed by all of us (in some national council of Africa), and is both just and fit, that every cause ecclesiastical should be there heard where the fault was committed, and to all pastors a part, *portio gregis*, of the flock of Christ (not all the flock to one) “is entrusted, which every one ought to rule as he that must give an account to God (not the bishop of Rome, Cornelius), it becometh not those whom we are over to run about to other churches (aiming particularly at the Roman), and by their subtle and fallacious rashness to divide the concord of bishops, and dissolve the unity of the Church, but there to plead their cause where witnesses and accusers may be produced against them.” The same St. Cyprian,‡ in

* V. Cyprian. Epist. 55. [Cypr. de Unitate Eccles. c. 3. p. 208. Paris. 1649.] [Epist. 51. p. 80. Epist. 54. p. 95.]

† Epist. 55. vel lib. 10. Epist. 3. ad Cornelium.

‡ Epist. 68.

another epistle, adviseth and encourageth the people of Spain not to receive Basilides again as their bishop, although he had been at Rome with Pope Stephen, by whom he was (he saith) unjustly, and, as he supposed, in a surreptitious manner, restored (for he had been deposed) to his bishopric. Can any one now believe that St. Cyprian held the supreme authority of the Bishop of Rome over all the bishops and churches to be his lawful right, or, which is more incredible, an article of the ancient primitive and apostolic faith, as Pope Pius hath declared it? Surely, he must then be a person of very catholic, *i. e.* universal faith to believe any thing. And what did Henry VIII.* as other kings of England before him, worse than St. Augustine and the whole African Church, in forbidding appeals, and forbidding his legates in their own kingdom? Why might not England do this as well as Africa? Well, however our adversaries will relish it, the Council of Milevis (another African Council),† forbade all appeals to transmarine churches (aiming no doubt, especially at Rome) under pain of excommunication out of of all the churches of Africa; and another at Carthage decreed,‡ that no bishop whatsoever, no, not the Roman, should be called “the prince of bishops,” but only “the bishop of the first seat or see.” Gratian, the Roman Canonist, according to his excellent faculty of translating, giveth us the meaning of the canon thus: that no bishop is to be called “the prince of bishops,” but “the bishop of the first seat,” *i. e.* the Pope. *Glossa quæ corrumpit textum.*

I will only add the testimonies of two bishops of Rome; the former is Pelagius II.§ who, writing to his rival for the supremacy, the Bishop of Constantinople, saith, *Nullus patriarcharum, &c.* none of the patriarchs (and so neither the Roman) may use or assume the title of “universal bishop,” for hereby the name of patriarch is indeed taken from all the rest; which, saith he, far be it from the thought of any faithful Christian. This is upon record in the Pope’s canon law.

But his successor, Pope Gregory the Great,|| speaketh out more plainly, who, writing to the empress against John bishop of Constantinople, his rival, saith, “in this his ~~prie~~ (in affect-

* Hen. 1. Hen. 2. apud Matth. Parisien.

† Can. 22.

‡ Concil. Carthag. 3. Can. 26.

§ Dist. 99. Cap. Nullus Patriarcharum. [Registri Epist. lib. 5. indice 13. p. 743. vol. 2. Paris. 1705.]

|| Gregor. lib. 4. Epist. 36 et 38.

ing the title of "universal bishop") "appeareth the approach of Antichrist. Wherefore I beseech you, by the Almighty God, give not any consent to this perverse title."* In like manner, Epist. 32, to the Emperor, "Peter himself is not called the universal apostle ("feed my sheep," it seems, proveth it not.) None of the Roman bishops ever assumed, though offered to them, this name of singularity, or consented to use it† (as Popes now do.) And who is he who, contrary to the Gospel and the decrees of the canons, presumeth to take upon him this foolish and proud name." Did ever any Protestant inveigh more bitterly against the Pope's universal episcopacy? I would gladly know whether both parts of a contradiction can be true. Whether the ancient or modern Roman bishops, or both, be infallible? Do not the modern Popes assume and earnestly contend for this foolish, proud, and antichristian name? And lest we should imagine that Pope Gregory condemned this name in other patriarchs only, not as to himself, he addeth in the before-mentioned epistle to Mauritius the emperor,‡ "Gracious Lord, *Nunquid hac in re propriam causam defendo, &c.* Do I in this speak for myself, or plead my own cause, and not rather the cause of the whole Church?" Where note, he acknowledgeth the Emperor to be his lord, and to whose judgment he is willing to refer the whole cause. Did Pope Gregory make the Emperor supreme judge in an article of faith? Let Papists judge. Notwithstanding all this zeal, his successor Boniface soon after, A.D. 607, as Sigebert, Marianus Scotus, Martinus Polonus, and other historians testify,§ by the favour of that execrable regicide, Phocas, obtained this proud, foolish, and profane title, and the present Pope not only owneth the name, but, contrary to the judgment of his predecessors (who are supposed to have been infallible), executeth an universal jurisdiction over all princes, bishops, churches (as far as he is able), to the diminution, yea, almost abrogation of

* Lib. 4. Epist. 34. [lib. 7. Indict. 15. Epist. 33. ad Maur. August. ut supra.]

† Lib. 4. Epist. 32. ad Joan. Constantin. In isto scelesto vocabulo consentire, nihil est aliud quam fidem perdere. Greg. M. ad Sabinian. lib. 4. Indict. 13. Epist. 39.

‡ Lib. 7. Epist. 30. ad Eulogium; he rejects the name given to himself.

§ Epist. 32. ad Maur. et lib. 2. Epist. 61. ad Maur. Beda de setate Anastas. vita Bonifacii 3. Ad Chron. l. 1.

their due rights, privileges, and authority, as Marcus Antonius de Dominis,* archbishop of Spalatro, justly complained. So much for the Pope's supremacy.

The next article is the "proper and real sacrificing Christ's very body and blood in the mass by the priest, as a propitiation for the sins both of quick and dead."† This error in all probability arose from want of a discreet understanding of some rhetorical or hyperbolical expressions used by the ancient Fathers in their popular sermons and discourses concerning the sacrament of Christ's death and passion. But that it was no part of their faith to believe that Christ is really and properly sacrificed in the mass, we shall evidently prove from their own writings.

I shall begin with Justin Martyr,‡ who, discoursing of the holy eucharist, sheweth how the Christians then used to offer bread and wine to the *προεστως*, or minister, who, receiving them, offereth up to God (not Christ himself, but) glory, thanks and praise for those his gifts (*i. e.* bread and wine), which, after the minister's prayers and thanksgivings, are distributed to every one that is present.§ Where note, first, they are termed bread and wine after the minister's prayers or consecration. Secondly, both bread and wine were given to all present; not bread only, much less neither one nor the other, as in private masses: but of sacrificing or offering up Christ himself to God, he hath not a word in that place.|| The same Father, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, treateth at large concerning the abrogation of the Jewish sacrifices; and coming to mention the Christian sacrifice,¶ which Malachi foretold should be offered up to God by the Gentiles in every place:** he interprets it (as Tertullian, Eusebius, and the rest of the Fathers do) of prayers and praises; which, saith he, "I account the only perfect sacrifices pleasing to God." Which spiritual sacrifices, a little after, he opposeth to all the sacrifices, offerings and oblations

* In præfat. Reipub. Ecol.

† Christus in seipso immortaliter vivens, iterum in hoc mysterio moritur. Greg. M. de Concil. dist. 2. quid sit.

‡ Apol. ad Antonin. [Apolog. l. vol. 1. p. 218, 220. Wirceb. 1777.]

§ 'Αρχιερατικὸν ἔσμεν γένος, ὡς Θεὸς μαρτυρεῖ. Mal. i. 11. which relates to all Christians.

|| 'Αναίμακτοι.

¶ P. 201.

** 'Απὸν καὶ ὀλβον, In Dialog. p. 270.

of the law. Surely, had St. Justin believed, that in the eucharist Christ himself, his body and blood, were by the priest really and properly sacrificed to God, he would no doubt have made mention of this Christian sacrifice, far exceeding in virtue and value, not only all Jewish offerings, but the prayers and thanksgivings of all Christians; at least he would never have affirmed, that the latter were, in his opinion, the only perfect sacrifices under the Gospel pleasing to God. But he is altogether silent as to any such sacrifice; yea, contrarily, in that very place he addeth, that these only sacrifices, to wit, prayers and praises, Christians have learned to make, and that in or at the commemoration or remembrance of their alimony both wet and dry, *i. e.* the eucharistical bread and wine, in which they remember the passion of Christ. Where it is remarkable, that Justin Martyr, instead of proper sacrificing of Christ in the holy eucharist, mentions only the commemoration or memorial of his passion, and that the prayers and thanksgivings attending it (for it is called the eucharist, ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας), were the only sacrifices Christians had learned in that most solemn office of religion to offer up to God. So much for Justin.

I pass on to St. Irenæus,* who acknowledgeth, that Christ teaching his disciples to offer to God the first-fruits of his creatures, lest they should seem ungrateful, took that bread, which is of the creature or creation (κρίσως, possibly was the word) and gave thanks, and said, "This is my body." In like manner the cup of wine, which is of the creature (*i. e.* the vine), confessing it to be his blood, and taught the oblation of the new testament, which the Church receiving from the Apostles, offereth to God throughout the world, to him who granteth to us the first-fruits of his gifts in the new testament. Here we find an oblation, but not a sacrifice (which two, as Bellarmine observeth,† are different things), much less a sacrifice of Christ's body and blood. Irenæus plainly sheweth what kind of oblation he meant, when he declareth it to be not of Christ the Creator, but of God's creatures, to wit, bread and wine, which the Church offers to God. Bellarmine grants this,‡ first, as an expression of honour, love and gratitude to him for his creatures bountifully bestowed on us for our sustenance. Secondly, that out of a

* Lib. 4. c. 32, 33, 34. [vol. 1. p. 251. col. 1. Venet. 1734.]

† De Missa, l. 1. c. 2.

‡ Euchar. lib. 10. c. 27. V. Litur. Chrysost.

part of them, to wit, bread and wine set on God's table or altar, by the prayers of the priest they might become sacramentally and mystically his body and blood. Thirdly, that out of the remains the poor might be relieved. These oblations St. Cyprian after him calleth in an improper sense sacrifices, in *Dominicum sine sacrificio venis?* Dost thou come, speaking to a rich widow,* to church without a sacrifice, *i. e.* oblation? These oblations of bread and wine offered up to God, in a way of grateful acknowledgment of his mercies, out of which the sacramental elements were of old taken, are the oblation of the new testament taught by Christ, and observed by the primitive Christians. That this was his true sense and meaning appeareth plainly from the next chapter,† where, having quoted the prophecy of Malachi concerning the pure incense and offering of the Gentiles (a place urged by our adversaries for their mass-sacrifice), he expounds it according to Rev. viii. 3. of the prayers of saints;‡ and in the next chapter, discoursing of this oblation which our Saviour taught to be offered in all places throughout the world, which is accounted by God a pure sacrifice, he applyeth to it those words; "If thou bringest thy gift to the altar," &c.§ Which gift was never understood by any of Christ's body and blood; which, according to our Romanists' own doctrine, none but priests, not private Christians, offer at God's altar. To this he subjoineth the words of God by Moses: "Thou shalt not appear before the Lord empty," *i. e.* without an oblation: for gifts, saith he, testify love and honour of the person to whom they are presented.¶ Then, he addeth, in regard the Church offereth, with simplicity, her oblation is justly accounted by God a pure sacrifice; as St. Paul writeth to the Philippians of their oblations, *i. e.* alms, sent to him, terming them an offering pleasing to God;¶ for it becometh us, saith Irenæus, to make an oblation to God, and in all things to be found grateful unto the Creator — offering *primitias creaturarum ejus* (not his Son, but) the first-fruits of his creatures.

The synagogue of the Jews offereth not thus, in regard they have not received the Word (Christ) by whom it is to be offered to God; in which respect it is termed a new oblation of the

* Scdm. de Eleemosyna. V. Canonem Missæ, and D. Field, in Append. p. 212.

† Cap. 33.

‡ Cap. 34.

§ Matth. v. 23.

¶ Cap. 34.

¶ Phil. iv. 18.

Church. However, when our adversaries boast much of Ireneus, as owning their sacrifice of the mass; it is evident that to any who will weigh the whole context of his discourse, he saith nothing in the least of sacrificing Christ in the sacrament, but of oblations and alms, which are still used in our churches at the Offertory, when the eucharist is celebrated.

Let us now proceed to Tertullian,* who against Marcion expounds Malachi's clean or pure sacrifice, of giving glory, blessing, and praise to God; and, in another place, of simple or pure prayer from a pure conscience, lib. 4. in *Marc.* c. 1. In like manner, *ad Scapulam*, written in defence of the Christians who were accused, because they did not offer up (as the Gentiles) any sacrifice for the life of the Emperor; he answereth, "We do sacrifice for the Emperor, but as God hath commanded, *pura prece*, with pure prayer." Why doth he not say (which Bellarmine granteth, *de Missa*, l. 2. c. 6, might lawfully have been done), we offer up for him a most perfect and venerable sacrifice of the body and blood of the Son of God?† It seemeth he was ignorant of this mass-sacrifice. Clemens Alexandrinus,‡ discoursing much about heathenish and Jewish sacrifices, addeth, "We Christians honour God with our prayers, and his most excellent sacrifice we present unto him." And a little after, "the sacrifice of the Christian Church is speech, λόγος, breathed out from holy souls."

I will add Lactantius, *Summus colendi Dei ritus*, &c. § The highest rite, or office of worship to God, is praise from the mouth of a righteous man. Would he or Clemens have advanced prayer or praise above the sacrifice of Christ in the mass, had they believed it?|| But I must not forget St. Cyprian, *ad Luc.* where he saith, ¶ "Christ offered himself to God a sacrifice, and commanded the eucharist to be celebrated in commemoration or remembrance of him. It is the

* Lib. 3. cap. 22. *Gloriæ Relatio, Benedictio, et Laus et Hymni*, et lib. 4. c. 1. [Adv. Judæos, cap. 5. p. 188. Paris. 1675.] *Simplex oratio de conscientia pura.*

† V. Tertul. adv. Judæos, c. 5.

‡ Strom. 7. p. 717. *τιμῶμεν τὸν Θεὸν δι' εὐχῆς*, &c.

§ Instit. lib. 6. cap. ult. [De Vero Cultu. lib. 6. vol. 1. p. 509. Paris. 1748.]

|| Epist. 63. [Vid. Pædagogus, lib. iii. p. 261. Lut. Par. 1641.]

¶ Add Cyprian. de *Uctione Chrismatis*. In *Mensa Panem et Vinem*, in *cruce militibus corpus vulnerandum tradit*. *Vino Christi sanguis ostenditur*. *Aqua sola Christi sanguinem non potest exprimere*. Cyp. Epist. 17. V. Lactant. Instit. p. 1. c. 1.

passion of our Lord which is the sacrifice we offer; wherefore, as often as we offer the cup in remembrance of the Lord and his passion, we ought to do what he did before us. Which last words confute the Romanists' half communion. Surely, if the passion of Christ on the cross be the sacrifice we offer to God, evident it is, that it can be offered only by way of commemoration or remembrance; for Christ suffered but once on the cross, which was performed above 1600 years ago. How can that very passion be really and properly reiterated or acted over again, unless by way of representation and commemoration? But if the sacrifice of the mass be only a representation or commemoration of Christ's passion, then it cannot be a proper sacrifice, but improper and by similitude only, as the picture of the passion of a martyr is not really and properly the passion itself.

I come now to Eusebius, the learned bishop of Cæsarea,* who teacheth us, that the sacrifice of Christ himself was prefigured by all the Jewish sacrifices, of which Christians make in the eucharist a continual remembrance, as he often repeateth it. But concerning sacrificing Christ again and again by the priest, we find not a word. Yea, in the same place he saith, "that Christians offer up *μνήμην ἀντὶ θυσίας*, the memory or memorial of Christ's sacrifice on the cross instead of a sacrifice to God:" which memorial, he saith, we celebrate *signis quibusdam*, by certain signs, to wit, bread and wine on the holy table, wherein we offer up to God unbloody and rational sacrifices *ἀσωμάτους καὶ ἀνάλμους*, incorporeal and without blood, by his most eminent High Priest, Jesus Christ, *i. e.* prayers and praises. He saith not, we offer Jesus Christ the High Priest, but we offer up other sacrifices by him. Neither by incorporeal and unbloody sacrifices in the plural, could he intend offering up Christ's body and blood; for how possibly can Christ's body be incorporeal, or his blood without blood? A little after he explaineth more fully what he meaneth by those rational, incorporeal or spiritual sacrifices, to wit, the sacrifices of prayer and praise; to which purpose he quoteth the words of David: "Offer unto God thanksgiving," &c.† to those of Malachi above-mentioned, concerning pure incense, *i. e.* prayer and a pure offering, which is, saith he, "a broken and contrite heart." He concludeth in these words: "We

* *ἐκπόρευσις*, lib. 1. de Demonstrat. Evang. c. 10. V. Euseb. de Laudib. Constantini, p. 488.

† Psalm 1.

sacrifice and offer incense sometimes by celebrating the memory, *μνήμην*, of that great sacrifice (to wit, of Christ on the cross), by those sacramental mysteries which he hath delivered to us, giving thanks to God for our redemption, and offering hymns and praises to him — (the same do Protestants), otherwise by consecrating and devoting ourselves to God, and dedicating soul and body to his High Priest, the Word." Ye see here how many sorts of Christian sacrifices Eusebius reckons up, prayers, praises, consecrating our souls and bodies to God, celebrating the memory of his sacrifice on the cross; but concerning sacrificing of Christ himself in and by the sacramental mysteries, we find nothing. Can this now be a point of catholic faith, of which Eusebius and all the ancient Fathers were ignorant? The same Eusebius,* in another place, discourseth concerning Christ's priesthood according to the order of Melchizedek. His words are: "In like manner first our Saviour, then the priests of or from him exercising a spiritual priesthood, by bread and wine do obscurely represent the mysteries of his body and blood."† This maketh nothing for the Popish mass-sacrifice. For, first, Melchizedek, as he said a little before, *ἐξήνεγκε*, *protulit* (as the vulgar translation rendereth it), brought forth to Abraham bread and wine, but offered, *obtulit*, no corporal sacrifices. The truth is, the mass-priests, if transubstantiation be admitted, offer neither bread nor wine, which they tell us are changed into Christ's body and blood, which are corporal things. But the Christian priesthood, saith Eusebius, is spiritual; so therefore are their sacrifices also. Secondly, All that Eusebius saith of the executors of this spiritual priesthood is, that after Christ's example, by bread and wine (which he supposeth to remain in their substance) they obscurely represent Christ's body and blood. Doth this imply, that the bread and wine are miraculously changed into the body and blood of Christ? or, that representing Christ's body and blood in the holy sacrament rendereth them a sacrifice, or implieth any offering them up as a propitiatory victim for the sins both of quick and dead? Certainly, did this sacrificing Christ by or under bread and wine at all appertain to the Christian priesthood, Eusebius no doubt would have (it being so eminent and wonderful an action) made at least some little mention of it. But how could

* Lib. 5. c. 3.

† V. Tertul. contra Judæos. Ambros. de Sacram. l. 4. c. 3.

he mention that which it appeareth he was wholly ignorant of, to wit, the sacrificing Christ by priests in the holy eucharist?

Athanasius in a few words giveth the sacrifice of the mass a deadly blow.* “The sacrifice of our Saviour, once offered, perfects all, and remaineth firm at all times. Aaron had successors, our Lord had none.” St. Chrysostom *adv. Judæos*, Hom. 36. expounds Malachi's pure offering of prayer; and Hom. in Psalm 95. reckoning up about ten sorts of sacrifices in the Christian Church, as martyrdom, prayer, alms, &c. he taketh no notice of the sacrifice of all sacrifices, to wit, of Christ in the mass. But that noted place, Hom. 17. on the Hebrews, must not be omitted; where having first said, that Jesus Christ is both priest and sacrifice,† who offered himself to God once for all for us; he raiseth an objection against what he had said from St. Paul, What then do we priests? Do not we daily offer? He answereth, We do indeed offer, but it is making a remembrance of his death, we do it in commemoration of what is already done;‡ we do offer the same sacrifice *μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα τῆς θυσίας*, or rather (correcting himself that he might speak more properly and exactly), we celebrate or operate the remembrance of a sacrifice, *i. e.* of Christ on the cross, *commemorantes, et memoriam facientes*, as the Roman Missal itself speaketh.

St. Ambrose, in his comment on the Hebrews,§ saith the very same, as if he had translated St. Chrysostom: Do not we daily offer? Yes, we offer *memoriam facientes*, making in and by the eucharist a memorial of his death. We offer him (Christ) *magis autem sacrificii recordationem operamur*, rather or more properly, we make a remembrance of a sacrifice. In another place he sets down the ancient forms of consecration;|| wherefore being mindful of his passion (*i. e.* Christ on the cross), we offer to thee this sacrifice—this bread. Bread, not the very body of Christ in a carnal and corporeal sense. The like words we find in St. Chrysostom's and the Gregorian Liturgies.¶

I will now add Epiphanius,** who saith, as Athanasius above, Christ hath no successor in his priesthood, that he is both priest and sacrifice, in regard none can properly sacrifice him but himself, which he did once for all on the cross. And

* Orat. 3. in Arian.

† V. Basil. M. in cap. 1. *Essaie*.

‡ Lib. 4. de *Sacra.* c. 6.

** Hæc. 55.

† Heb. x. 10.

§ Cap. 10.

¶ V. *Canonem Missæ Rom.*

Hæc. 42. Christ by his sacrifice hath taken away the use of all sacrifices (*i. e.* properly so called) under the Gospel. In like manner St. Cyril of Alexandria against Julian the apostate,* who objected that the Christians had no sacrifice. For answer, he asserts not any external, visible and corporeal one, but *νοερὸν καὶ αἰθέριον*, an intellectual and spiritual worship;† for, saith he, a most immaterial and spiritual sacrifice becometh God, who is in his nature pure and immaterial.

I will end with St. Augustine, who in his 20th book against Faustus thus writeth: Christians celebrate the memory of this finished sacrifice (to wit, of Christ on the cross) by the holy oblation or sacrament, *i. e.* of bread and wine,‡ and by participation of the body and blood of Christ: not by immolation, but participation of them; not by reiteration of Christ's sacrifice, which is finished (*consummatum est*), but commemoration of it. And chap. 21. he hath these words:§ The flesh and blood of this sacrifice of Christ, before his incarnation, was promised or represented by the similitude of Levitical sacrifices. In the passion of Christ it was performed *per ipsam veritatem*, by the very truth of the thing itself. After his ascension, it is celebrated *per sacramentum memorie*, by a sacrament of memory, or commemoration, not by a true proper sacrifice of Christ, *per ipsam veritatem*, and immolation of his very body and blood, as Romanists affirm. In his epistle to Boniface, he expresseth it more clearly: Is not Christ immolated or offered up once *in semetipso*,|| in himself, *i. e.* his own body and blood really? and yet in the sacrament, not only every Easter, but every day, *quotidie populus immolatur*, he is immolated or offered to the people. He saith not to God, but to the people. For sacraments, if they had not some similitude, *similitudinem*, of those things whereof they are sacraments, they could not at all be sacraments. Hence the names of the things signified are communicated to them. Here St. Augustine plainly affirmeth, that Christ's body and blood are immolated or offered up in and by the sacramental signs, not really, properly and substantially, but *per similitudinem*, by way of similitude or representation, in regard the sacramental

* Lib. 9. cont. Julian.

† *νοητὴν καὶ πνευματικὴν λατρείαν.*

‡ Ch. 18.

§ Lib. 20. contr. Faust. c. 21. The like he hath de Fide ad Petrum Diacon. c. 19.

|| *Quod natum est ex Virgine, nobis quotidie nascitur et crucifigitur.* Hieron. in Psal. 86, et 97.

symbols, as he saith, *secundum quendam modum*, after some manner, not proper but figurative, are his body and blood; or, as St. Ambrose* hath it, *in imagine*, in an image or representation, but there (in heaven at God's right hand) *in veritate*, in truth; where he presenteth his very body and blood by way of interpellation to the eyes of his Father as our advocate.† In another place,—As often as the *pascha*, the Christian passover is offered, doth Christ so often die? No: yet *anniversaria recordatio quasi repræsentat quod olim factum est*,‡ the anniversary recordation at Easter doth, as it were, represent what was done long since; and so admonisheth us as if we saw Christ hanging on the cross. So much for sacrificing Christ in the mass or sacrament, which the ancient Fathers own not, allowing only, with Protestants, an improper offering of him by way of image, representation, similitude, memorial and communication.

I come to the last article before-mentioned of the now Roman Creed, "Receiving the communion in one kind, in bread only." Here it is needless to quote many testimonies, seeing our adversaries themselves confess, that herein they have departed from the practice of all the ancient Fathers.§ We have already seen in Justin Martyr, that both bread and wine were administered to all that were present at the sacrament; yea, he there informs us, that the deacon carried *ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον* consecrated bread and wine to such as were sick and absent. In Cyprian's days it is undeniable, that the sacramental cup was given to the people, yea infants. *Bibimus de sanguine Domini ipso jubente*,|| Christ commanding us, we drink of his blood. I might allege Ignatius, *ad Philadelph.* Origen, Hom. 16. in Num. Tertul. *ad Uxorem*, lib. 2. Cyril. Hierosol. *Catech.* &c. Ambrose, lib. i. *de Offic.* c. 41. *de Sacrament.* l. 4. c. 4. Jerome in *Sophon.* c. 3. et 1 Cor. xi. Chrys. Hom. 18 in 2 ad Corinth. Theodoret. in 1 Cor. xi. Austin. in Levit.¶ qu. Theophylact. 1 Cor. xi. Paschasius *de cæna Dom.* with many

Epist. 33.

† Lib. 1. de Offic. c. 48. et in Psal. 38.

‡ In Psal. 21. Compare in Psalm. 75. Memoria quotidie nobis immolatur. Cum hostia frangitur, et sanguis in ora fidelium infunditur, quid aliud quam Dominici corporis immolatio significatur? Aug. de Cons. dist. 2.

§ Evangelistæ ita tradiderunt præcepisse sibi Jesum. Apol. 2 prope finem. Epist. 54, 56, 63. lib. de Lapsis.

|| Cypr. de Cæna Domini. [Epist. ad Cæcilium. vol. i. p. 185-9. Edit. Wirceb. 1782.]

¶ Dionysius Carthusian. in 1 Cor. 11.

more; but it is needless, as we shall shew by and by. Lyra in Proverb. i. 9. and Carthusianus grant it.

I come to my third assertion, that some of the articles before mentioned in Pope Pius's Creed, and declared by him to be parts of the primitive catholic and apostolic faith, necessary to be believed by all Christians to salvation, cannot be proved to be such by the testimonies of any eminent writers* for above 1000 years after Christ. I instance, first, in the article concerning their seven sacraments. No ancient writer, for 1000 years after Christ, ever taught that there were seven sacraments, *nec plura, nec pauciora*, neither more nor less, and that extreme unction, matrimony, with the rest, were they. Peter Lombard, who lived Anno 1160, first taught this doctrine, which he could not prove, although he endeavoureth it in other points, by the testimonies of the ancient Fathers. But of this more below.

Secondly, In the article concerning communion in one kind. The Councils of Constance and Trent confess, that the Primitive Church administered the eucharist to the people in both kinds as Christ did; yet *non obstante*, as if this were little to be regarded, they decree that the laity shall not receive both, yea, anathematize such as say, it is necessary from the institution, practice and command of our Saviour, "Do this," &c. "Drink ye all of this." The same is acknowledged by Bellarmine, Valentia, Costerus, and others of the most eminent writers. Cassander confesseth, that the Primitive Church, at least in all her public administrations, gave both elements to the people for 1000 years after Christ.† The present Roman custom in Aquinas's days‡ was but *in quibusdam Ecclesiis*, in some churches only.

Thirdly, Transubstantiation,§ as Scotus and Biel, in Can. sect. 4. acknowledge, was first made an article of faith by Pope Innocent in the Lateran Council, not much above four hundred years ago. [Vid. Labbe, Concil. vol. ii. p. 148. Lut. Par. 1671.]

* V. Cassand. Consul. Art. 13. Chemnit. in Examen. Perkins Demonstr. Problem. Licet primitiva Ecclesia, &c. Concil. Basil. Licet ab initio Christianæ Religionis, &c. Trident. Concil. Can. 1. sess. 5.

† Consult. Art. 13.

‡ Part. 3. qu. 80. Art. 12.

§ V. Bellarm. de Euchar. lib. 3. c. 23. Alph. de Castro. de Transubst. rara apud antiquos mentio, p. 572. c. 8. [Adv. Hæreses, viii. c. Indulg. p. 578. Paris. 1571.]

Fourthly, Worshipping of images with *latria* came in,* as Camarinus granteth, 1000 years after Christ. The second Nicene Council condemns it.

Fifthly, The belief of purgatory and use of indulgences† were, *fero recepti in Ecclesia*, lately received by the Church, as we have seen Roffensis and Alphonsus de Castro,‡ two zealous Papists, affirming. It is notorious that purgatory was first made an article of faith in the late Council of Florence, about 300 years ago, which the Greek Church owneth not at this day, nor ever did. Who can now but wonder at the confidence of our adversaries, who boast of their ancient catholic and apostolic religion, accusing Protestants of novelty and heresy, setting up a new faith and church, because we protest against and reject those erroneous novelties they would impose upon us, and all Christians, as catholic truths necessary to be believed to salvation?

But I hasten to my fourth and last assertion, which was this: that there is scarcely any point in controversy betwixt us and the Papists, especially of them before-mentioned, made by Pope Pius and the late Tridentine Council, articles of faith; but we are able to produce many eminent writers, and some of their own Church, who condemn them as well as we, in the ages next before Luther appeared in the world. So that what doctrines and practices the Reformed Protestant Churches rejected and condemned, were not the generally received and unanimously avowed opinions and observances of the Roman, much less catholic Church, but only of a powerful and predominant party in it.

I will first begin with their doctrine of seven sacraments.§ The Canonists, as Panormitan and the Gloss. on Dist. 5. *de Pœnitentia*, say, that penance was not ordained (as the Trent Council grants all true sacraments are) a sacrament by Christ, but is an institution of the Church only. Canus affirmeth, it is uncertain whether it giveth grace or no. Durandus holds,|| 4. Dist. 26. qu. 3. that matrimony is no sacrament, univocally and properly so called, conferring grace.

* Opusc. de Imagin.

† V. Caranzam in Concil Nicæno 2. art. 2.

‡ Alph. de Castro, lib. 8. p. 572. V. Confess. fidei Cyrilli, Patriarchæ Constant. Dr. Field against Higgons.

§ V. Rhenanum Annotat. in Tertul. de Pœnitent. Loc. Commun. lib. 8. c. 4. et 5.

|| In qu. Gent. Dist. 26. qu. 3.

Hugo de St. Victore denieth that extreme unction is a sacrament. Holcot, quoted by Cassander, Consult. art. 13. saith, Confirmation is no sacrament. Bessarion* the cardinal owneth only two sacraments, baptism and the eucharist. Alexander Halensis is of opinion, that there are only four sacraments of the Gospel. See Dr. Field of the Church, in Append. p. 332, and Bishop Morton's Appeal, p. 337. The Waldenses held but two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper, as Protestants do.

Secondly, As for their new article of transubstantiation,† Petrus de Alliaco, a cardinal, ingenuously acknowledgeth, that the opinion which supposeth the substance of bread to remain still after consecration (which was Luther's opinion) is possible; neither is it contrary to reason or Scripture: nay, saith he, it is easier to conceive and more reasonable than that which holdeth, that the substance doth leave the accidents, and of this opinion no inconvenience doth seem to ensue, if it could be accorded with the Church's (i.e. his Roman Church's) determination. Scotus, quoted by Bellarmine,‡ saith, that before the Lateran Council it was no point of faith. To be sure P. Lombard, the father of the schoolmen, believed it not. For he saith, if it be demanded what manner of conversion of the elements into Christ's body and blood is made by consecration, whether formal or substantial, I am not able to define. Tunstal,§ bishop of Durham in Queen Mary's days, declares, that before the Council of Lateran no man was bound to believe transubstantiation; it being free for all men till that time to follow their own conjecture as to the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament. Hence he only required the confession of a real presence (which we grant), and no more. Yea, he used to say, that if he had been at Pope Innocent's elbow, when he decreed transubstantiation as an article of faith, he could, he thought, have offered him such reasons as should have dissuaded him from it. Biel affirmeth,|| that transubstantiation is a very new opinion, and lately brought into the Church; and was believed only or principally on the authority

* De Sacram. Euchar. part. 4. qu. 5. mem. 2. Naucler. vol. 2.

† Dist. 11. qu. 6. art. 2. [Alliaco in 4. q. 6. art. 2. fol. ccxvi. sine anno.] Add Cameracensis, 4. Gent. qu. 6. art. 2. Occam. in 4. Gent. 2. 5.

‡ De Euchar. lib. 3. c. 23. quæst. 3. lib. 4. dist. 11. qu. 23. art. 1.

§ De Verit. Corp. et Sang. D. in Euchar. p. 46.

|| In Can. Missæ. Lect. 41.

of Pope Innocent, and the infallibility of the Church (you must suppose Roman), which expounds the Scripture by the same spirit which delivered the faith to us.

To which Durand agreeth :* It is rashness, saith he, to think the body of Christ, by his divine power, cannot be in the sacrament, unless the bread be converted into it. He adds, that the opinion of consubstantiation (held by Lutherans) is liable to fewer difficulties, but it must not be holden, since the Church (of Rome) hath determined the contrary, which is presumed not to err in such matters. Ye see how doubtfully he speaketh of their Church's infallibility, on whose authority only he owneth transubstantiation,† not at all from any cogent authority of reason or Scripture, which, he saith, cannot be found. In like manner Cameracensis professeth, he saw not how transubstantiation could be proved evidently either out of Scripture, or any determination of the universal or catholic Church, making it a matter of opinion, not faith, and inclining rather, as Alliaco, to consubstantiation. Aquinas himself acknowledgeth, that some catholics, *quidam catholici*, thought that one body could not possibly be present in two places locally, but sacramentally only, which overthroweth transubstantiation. Ferus is very moderate in this point. Seeing, saith he, it is certain that Christ's body is 'in the sacrament, what need we dispute whether the substance of bread remain or not? Cardinal Cajetan himself,‡ quoted by Suarez, confesseth, that those words so urged by Romanists in this point, "This is my body," secluding the authority of the Church, are not sufficient to confirm transubstantiation. Of the same opinion was Scotus. The same Cajetan noteth, that many in truth deny what the word transubstantiation indeed importeth. So if I be not much mistaken, doth Cardinal Bellarmine, who instead of a substantial change or conversion of the bread into Christ's body, maintains only a translocation, adduction or succession of Christ's body into the room and place of it; which (as easy to discern) is no transubstantiation of the bread into Christ's body, properly so called. Johannes Scotus Erigena, about the year 800, wrote against transubstantiation, proving out of the Scriptures and ancient Fathers, that the bread and wine are not properly, but figuratively

* 4 Dist. 11. qu. 1. Num. 9. [fol. cccxii. p. 2. col. 2. Paris. 1508.]

† V. Bell. de Euchar. lib. 3. c. 23. In 4 Sent. qu. 6. Scotus in 4 Dist. 11. qu. 3.

‡ Tom. 3. Disp. 46. c. 3.

§ Supra in Part. 3. summ. qu. 75. art. 14. [vol. 24. p. 393. col. 2. Venet. 1787.]

and sacramentally Christ's body and blood. This book is still extant, and (no wonder) condemned by the infallible *Index Expurgatorius*.

Ælfricus, archbishop of Canterbury, set out, A.D. 996, in the Saxon tongue, his Homilies; wherein he affirms, that the bread is not Christ's body *corporaliter*, corporally, but spiritually, *spiritualiter*. With which perfectly agreeth the paschal Saxon Homily of Ælfric, abbot of Malmsbury, appointed publicly to be read to the people in England on Easter-day before the communion, still extant in manuscript in the public library of the University of Oxford, and the private library of Bennet College in Cambridge: to which place I gratefully acknowledge I owe the foundation of that small knowledge I have in divinity. To these may be added, Bertram *de corpore et sanguine Domini* to Charles the Great,* who about 700 years ago, in a just treatise, impugneth the doctrine of transubstantiation; to whom you may add Fulbertus,† Carnoton, Berengarius, Hincmarus *in vita Remigii*, Rabanus Maurus.

As for purgatory, and its appendix, indulgences, whose most gross abuse defended by the Pope, first opened Luther's mouth against him, much need not be said, in regard, as we have seen above, Roffensis, the Pope's martyr, and Alphonsus de Castro, to whom I may now add Polydore Virgil, confess, they are late novelties, of which, in the ancient Greek Fathers, there is little or no mention. The modern Greek Church, as appeareth from their Confession offered to the Council of Basil, and since that of Cyril, late patriarch of Constantinople, denieth any purgation of sins after death by fire. Lombard and Gratian take no notice of indulgences. The later schoolmen, Albertus, Al. Halensis, Durand, Cajetan, quoted by Bishop Usher and Dr. Field, in his Appendix, say, that *finalis gratia*, &c. final grace abolisheth all remains of sin in God's children: what need then of any purgatorian fire? Antoninus‡ acknowledgeth, that concerning the indulgences, *nihil habemus expresse*, &c. we have nothing expressly or clearly delivered, either in Scripture or the ancient Fathers. This same is affirmed by Cajetan and Durand. Agrippa *de vanitate Scient.*

* Panis ille est corpus Christi, figurate, &c.

† Fulber. Epist. ad Adeodatum. Epist. ad Heribaldum.

‡ Answer to the Challenge, p. 179. Part. prima summæ, tit. 10. c. 3. Opusc. 15. c. 1. De Indulg. lib. 4. dist. 20. qu. 3. Primus in Purgatorium extendit Indulgentias. V. Chemnit. Exam. de Indulg. 742, et 100 Gravamina.

cap. 61, saith, that Pope Boniface VIII. first extended indulgences to purgatory; they were opposed before Luther, by the University of Paris, Wesselus, Wickliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, Savanorola; yea, the States of Germany complained to the Pope of them as intolerable burdens, cheats, and incentives to all manner of wickedness. Add Platina in Boniface 9. Urspergensis, Chron. p. 322.

Worshipping of images was,* as is notorious, first decreed (though not with *latria*) in the second Nicene Council, about the year 794, but was opposed and condemned by the General Councils of Constantinople and Frankfort; in which last were 300 bishops, called by the Emperor and Pope, whose legates were there present, as the Bishop of Rheims reports, *apud Alanum Copum*, Dial. 4, and Suarez grants it, in 3. Part. Thomæ, qu. 25. disp. 54. This worship of images was confuted also by Albinus or Alcuinus out of the Scriptures, as Hoveden relates, in *continuat. Bedæ ad ann. 794*. Moreover, by the book of Charles the Great (if it be not the same with the former), which is still extant in the Vatican, and acknowledged to be genuine by some learned Papists. Agobardus, bishop of Lyons, wrote against worshipping pictures or images. So did also Jonas, bishop of Orleans, in his book *de Cultu Imaginum*,† allowing them only for ornament in churches, but detests the giving them any part of divine honour, as accursed wickedness. Peresius saith as much. Gerson, *de defect. viror. Eccles.* Holcot *de Sapientia*, Lect. 158. Mirandula, *Apol.* qu. 3. condemn bowing before them. Durand. *de Ritib. Eccl.* Catharinus, *de Cult. Imagin.* grant, that their use is dangerous in regard of the peril of idolatry. See our Church's Homily on the Peril of Idolatry. Polydore Virgil saith,‡ All the Fathers condemned worshipping images. Bellarmine§ himself granteth, that the worship of images (as defended and practised by the Roman Church, i.e. with *latria*, or the same worship we give to the prototypes) cannot be maintained without such nice distinctions of absolutely and relatively, or accidentally, univocally or analogically, properly or improperly, as scarce themselves, much less the weak common people can

* V. Polyd. Virgil. *de Invent. rerum*, lib. 6. V. Cassand. *infra*. See Urspergensis et Rhegino *ad Ann. 794*. and Matth. Westmonst. *ad Ann. 794*. Cassand. Consult. art. *de Imagin.* The work of men's hands may not be adored, no not in honour of their prototypes, p. 218. De Trad. Part. 3. *de Imagin.*

† Cap. 5.

§ De Imag. l. 2. c. 22.

‡ De Invent. rerum. lib. 6. c. 13.

understand, or, if they do, can hardly avoid error in practising them ; Peresius more plainly : they are a scandal to the weak, who cannot understand them, but by erring. Hence the Cardinal accounteth it not safe to teach their votaries publicly to give divine honour or *latria* to the image of Christ for his sake. Nevertheless it is undeniable that this is the professed doctrine of the Church of Rome,* declared by their oracle Aquinas, and *constans opinio*, as Azorius speaks, the constant opinion of their divines, defended by Valentia, Suarez, and that as the sense of the Council of Trent. Velasquez the Jesuit, to defend this adoration, blushed not to write, that it is lawful to worship the sun, yea (God bless us) the devil himself, so the worship be directed ultimately to God and his honour ; whereas it is notorious,† that the heathens might and did, in this very manner, defend their gross idolatry. The very making of the images of the Trinity is condemned by Abulensis, Durand, Peresius, and others, yet defended and practised by the Roman Church. Walafrius Strabo called it superstition and blockishness, *hebetudinem*, to worship images. I will end, that I be not too tedious, with the words of Jonas, bishop of Orleans, as an answer to our adversaries' reply, that they place no divinity in their images, but worship them only in honour of God, and of him whose image it is : "seeing they know there is no divinity in images, they are the more to be condemned for giving to an infirm and beggarly image the honour that is due to the Divinity." I cannot omit what I find in Agobardus,‡ it being so consonant with Jonas, as making one sentence. "They which answer (as our Roman Catholics now do) they think no divinity to be in the image they worship, but that they worship it in honour of him whose image it is, are easily answered ; because if the image they worship be not God, neither is it to be worshipped in honour of the saints, who use not to arrogate to themselves divine honour." He adds, that the images of Christ and the Apostles were expressed by the ancients after the custom of the Gentiles,§ rather for love and memory, than for any religious honour or worship. He concludes, this is the sincere religion, this is the catholic custom,

* De Trad. p. 226. V. Biel. in Canon. Missæ, sect. 49. Part. 3. qu. 28. Art. 3. Institut. Mor. tom. 1. l. 9. Suarez. tom. 1. Disp. 54. sect. 4. Vasq. in qu. 25. disp. 110. c. 2.

† See Orig. in Cels. l. 6. et 8. Arnob. lib. 6. Apud Bellar. de Imag. l. 2. c. 8. V. Aug. de Fide et Symb. c. 7. Biblioth. Patrum, tom. 5. p. 609. Concil. Trident. Compare Origen. lib. 7. in Celsum.

‡ De Pict. et Imag. p. 237.

§ V. Euseb. supra, p. 251.

this is the tradition of the Fathers, &c.* The Greeks condemn giving *latria* or *douleia* to images in their confession of faith.

The Pope's supremacy over emperors, councils, bishops, &c. This was contradicted by the Council of Basil (confirmed by Pope Nicolas) who decreed, that it was *de fide*, a point of faith, that the Pope ought to be subject to a General Council. Of the same opinion were the Councils of Pisa and Constance, who deposed several Popes as schismatics and heretics, for refusing to appear upon their summons. Balsamon, a Greek writer, sheweth, that the five patriarchs were equal in honour and power, and were all instead of one head over the whole Church. Cusanus,† the cardinal, confesseth, that the eight first General Councils were all called by the Emperors, and that the canon of the Council of Chalcedon concerning the precedence of the Bishop of Constantinople before him of Alexandria (notwithstanding Pope Leo's disclaiming it), was in full force and authority. Sigebert termeth the Pope's absolving subjects from their oath of allegiance to their princes, novelty and heresy. Otho the Emperor deposed Pope John, and assumed his ancient right of nomination to the Popedom. The Pope's usurped authority over the Emperor was wroct against by Marsilius, Occam,‡ Gerson, Dantes, Zabarella, Cusanus, Tostatus, Alliaco, Antoninus, and many others.

The sacrifice of Christ in the mass was unknown to Peter Lombard, who saith, "the sacrament is called a sacrifice, because it is the memorial and representation of the true sacrifice of Christ on the cross." Aquinas expresseth his sense after the same manner. The celebration of this sacrament is an image and representation of the passion of Christ, *quæ est vera immolatio*, which is a true immolation or sacrifice; and now its celebration, *dicitur*, is called the immolation, *immolatio*, of Christ. Of the same judgment were Biel § and Cornelius Mus,

* In Confess. fidei per Critopulum Patriarch. 5. Ann. 1430. sess. 4. Veritas fidei Catholicæ. Caranza, Ann. 1409. Ann. 1414. Respons. de Privileg. Patriarch. Concord. l. 2. c. 25. supra, cap. 20. p. 748.

† Card. Cusanus Concord. l. 2. c. 20. Ad Ann. 1088. [Vid: Sozomeni Historiæ, lib. 1.] Sigonius de Regno Ital. l. 7.

‡ Apud Bellarmin. de Concil. l. 1. c. 140. In Sent. lib. 4. dist. 12. art. 5. Part 3. qu. 83. art. 1.

§ In Can. Missæ, Lect. 85. Loc. Theol. l. 12. c. 12. p. 660. Biblioth. l. 4. Concord. c. 131. Decret. part. 3. de Consecrat. dist. 2. c. 48. Glossa in Grat. de Consecr. See Canon of the Mass, and Dr. Field in Append.

a bishop of note in the Council of Trent, who (as Canus and Sixtus Sencensis relate) openly denied, that Christ instituted any proper sacrifice of himself when he celebrated his supper. Jansenius acknowledgeth it can hardly be proved from *Hoc facite*, Do this, &c. Instead of many more, who might be added, take the words of the Pope's own canon law, set out by Gregory XIII. The sacramental bread, *suo modo vocatur*, after its manner is called the body of Christ, when *revera*, indeed, it is the sacrament of Christ's body; and the immolation of his flesh made by the priest, is termed his passion, death, and crucifixion, *non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio*, not in the truth of the thing, but in a significant mystery. The gloss upon it is still more plain. The sacrament, in regard it truly representeth Christ's flesh, *dicatur Christi corpus, sed improprie*, is called Christ's body, but improperly. It is called Christ's body, that is, saith the gloss, *significat*, it signifies it.

Communion in one kind. The *Ordo Romanus* appointed the wine also to be consecrated, that the people might fully communicate, saith Micrologus. Ovandus* declares, as also Cassander, that it were better to grant the cup to the people, which was earnestly desired by the Emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian, and under some good conditions permitted to the Bohemians. Halensis, a famous schoolman, granteth (contrary to Bellarmine), that it ought to be received under both kinds. "Which manner of receiving," saith he, "*Dominus tradidit*, our Lord delivered, is, *majoris efficacie*, of more efficacy and perfection (as to grace) than to receive one only."† Eccius, Salmeron, Lindanus, Valentia, Costerus, Bellarmine, Card. Bona, confess that the primitive Christians for many ages, yea, say some, for above one thousand years after Christ, received the sacrament in both kinds. The custom of receiving in one kind had its first original from the Manichean heretics, as we learn from Pope Leo the Great. P. Gelasius decrees, "that if they would not receive both, they should be excluded from both." [*Epist. ad Magone, et Joan. Decret. III. P. de consecrat. dist. II. s. 12.*] Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in his book

* De Observ. Eccles. c. 19. In 4. Dist. 9. Prop. 6. Consult. art. 22. In 4. Sent. qu. 11. Mem. 3. V. Tapperum apud Cassandr. de Commun. sub utraque specie, *ibid.* qu. 31.

† Totus Christus non continetur sub utraque specie, 4. qu. 40. Aquin. in 6. Joann. Alph. de Castro adv. Hæres. lib. 6. Serm. de Quadrages. quoted by B. Jewel.

called the Devil's Sophistry, ascribes its first beginning to the private superstitious devotion of some indiscreet persons. Others, as Costerus in *Enchir.* to the connivance or negligence of church governors. In the mass-book itself there are (as Dr. Field* observes) some expressions, which imply, that the people were receivers of both kinds; as particularly those words, *Cibo potuque refecti*, being refreshed with meat and drink, in a prayer after receiving the communion. Again, "*Sacramenta quæ sumpsimus, Domine, prosint nobis, &c.* Let the sacraments, Lord, we have received, be profitable to us." To these add those words: "*Quotquot sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Filii tui sumpserimus,*"† quoted by Cassander: "As many of us as have received the body and blood of thy Son." Gerardus Lorichius, and Ruardus Tapperus, are for the people receiving in both kinds. See Dr. Field's Appendix to his second book, where are many clear testimonies.

I had almost forgot invocation of saints. Bannes,‡ a late learned schoolman, agreeth with Protestants, that it hath no express grounds in Scripture. In like manner Eekius in *Enchirid.* c. 15. *De Venerat. SS.* Suarez in 3. *Thomæ*, qu. 3. disp. 42. Salmeron, in 1 *Tim.* cap. 2. disp. 8. Bel-larmine§ himself, although to make a show he allege places out of the Old Testament, granteth, that there was no invocation of saints before Christ's ascension, in regard the saints were then in *limbo*, and not admitted to the sight of God. The same is affirmed of the saints under the New Testament by many of the most ancient Fathers,|| Irenæus, Tertullian, Chrysostom, to wit, that they shall not be admitted to the vision beatifical till after the resurrection. Occam, Scotus, lib. 4. dist. 45. qu. 4. Valentia with others deny, that the saints departed, or angels, see all things in *speculo Trinitatis*, in God, who seeth all things,¶ but only such as are essential to their happiness, and which he is pleased to represent to them. Claudius Espenceus testifieth, that some old folk trusted in the saints, and ascribed no less to them than to God himself; and thought it easier to entreat or prevail with one of them, for obtaining their requests and desires, than him.

* In Append. in lib. 3. In Miss. de Sanct.

† V. Consult. p. 238. art. 24.

‡ 22. qu. 1. art. 10. Conclus. 2. § Lib. 1. de Eccles. trium. c. 6.

|| V. Sixtum Senens. lib. 6. Annotat. 345. In 4. Sent. qu. 3.

¶ Videt omnia qui videt videntem omnia, Greg. M. In 2 tom. 3. digres. 17. p. 118. In August. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 27.

Ludovicus Vives professeth he could discern no difference betwixt the worship of saints practised in his time, and the heathenish *parentalia*. Wickliffe, apud Walden. tom. 3. tit. 12. the Albigenses and Waldenses rejected, long before Luther, invocation of saints. I shall close this particular with the words of Cassander,* a noted and ingenuous Papist: "This false and pernicious opinion is too well known to have prevailed among the vulgar, while wicked men persevering in their naughtiness, are persuaded, that only by the intercession of the saints, whom they have chosen to be their patrons, and worship with cold and profane ceremonies, they have pardon and grace prepared them with God. Which pernicious opinion hath been confirmed in them with lying miracles. And there is another error that men, not evil of themselves, have chosen certain saints† to be their patrons and keepers, and put confidence in their merits and intercession more than in the merits of Christ; so far, that the only office of Christ's intercession being obscured, they substituted into his place the saints, and especially the Virgin his mother, &c. Are not these things highly injurious to the honour of our blessed Saviour and Redeemer? Did they not call aloud for an effectual reformation?"

I might add several other points of doctrine, which, if they be not already by the Tridentine decrees, may become articles of faith whensoever the Pope pleaseth.

The Pope's infallibility,‡ the ground, rock, and foundation of all their faith and religion, is *fere*, almost, saith Bellarmine, an article of faith, and but almost, which all prudent and considering men may well wonder at. Yet it is not only denied by the Council of Basil, who decree, that it is *de fide*, a point

* Cons. p. 154.

† Compare Sir Edwin. Sandys's *Europæ Speculum*, p. 56. Biel. in *Can. Missæ*, Lect. 30. saith as much. *Solus Deus simpliciter orandus est. Sancti magis se tenent ex parte orantium, quam illius qui oratur*, Halens. qu. 92. Mem. 10. art. 4.

‡ To deny it is, *sententia Hæresi proxima, non proprie hæretica*. De *Infallib. Papæ*, l. 4. c. 1. V. Caranzam. Sess. 12, 38, 35. V. Alphons. de Castro adv. *Hæres.* l. 1. c. 2. Vid. cap. 4. *ibid.* Stapleton *Contr.* 3. qu. 4. saith, It is no point of faith, but of opinion only. Cusan. *Concord.* l. 1. c. 14. Canus *loc. Com.* l. 6. c. ult. Cajetan. de *authorit. Papæ*, c. 26. lib. 1. c. 4. Valent. lib. 8. *Analys. fidei*, cap. 1. Pope Hadrian in 4. de *Sacram. Confirmat. sub finem.* Canus, *loc.* l. 6. c. ult. p. 331. Valentia *Analys. fidei*, lib. 8. c. 3, et 4. V. Bellar. de *Pontif. M. Waldensis Doctrin. fidei*, l. 2. c. 19. Add Alph. de Castro, lib. 1. cap. 4.

of faith, that the Pope ought to be subject to a General Council (in regard he may be, as Liberius, Zephyrinus, Honorius, Anastasius, and some other Popes were, a notorius heretic and schismatic), but strongly confuted by Occam, qu. 1. *de potestate Pontif.* c. 9. Almain, *Quest. in Vesp. de autoritate Eccl.* c. 10. Ovandus, 4. dist. 18. prop. 25. Coroll. 2. Nicolas Clemangis *de corrupt. Eccl. statu.* Alvarus Pelagius, *de planctu Eccl.* Contarenus, Gerson, &c. Lyra, in Matth. 16. Turrecremata *Summ. Eccl.* l. 4. part 2. c. 16, 20. with many more, grant that the Pope may be a heretic in his private person or judgment; yea, as Alphons. de Castro, Bosius, tom. 2. *de sign. Eccles.* l. 18. c. ult. Bannes, 22. qu. 1. Art. 10. acknowledge, that he may be not only a heretic himself, but impose, by his pontifical authority in his decrees, heresy on the whole Church. The truth is, there is need of an infallible judge to determine where or in whom the Roman infallibility resides. Some of them say, in the Pope alone; whether he maturely considers what he decrees, or no: whether the premises on which he builds his conclusion be pertinent or not, true or false; some in the Pope, assisted with a General or Provincial Council. Some in a General Council without, yea, decreeing against the Pope; some in the universal tradition of the Church. They have little reason then to upbraid Protestants with their difference of opinion in lesser matters, seeing they differ amongst themselves in the fundamental article and ground of all their religion.

2. The immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin Mary. This is almost an article of faith amongst them; insomuch that no divine can commence doctor (as Salmeron reports) in the University of Paris, unless he swears to maintain it. Nevertheless it is not only contradicted by the ancient Fathers generally,* but by the elder schoolmen, as Bannes, part 1. *in Tho.* qu. art. 8. dub. 5. and Turrecremata *de Consecrat.* dist. 4. num. 11. acknowledge. Lombard. lib. 3. Sent. dist. 3. Aquinas *summ.* 3 part. qu. 27. art. 2. Cajetan opuse. tom. 2. tract. 1, *de conceptione Virg.* Bonaventure, dist. 3. in Sent. 3. qu. 1. art. 1. Capreolus, l. 3. dist. 3. to whom many more may be added, affirm the same.

3. That the apocryphal books are to be received as of equal authority with the canonical is decreed, and so made

* Orig. Hom. 17. in Lucam. Chrysost. Hom. 45 et 46. in Matthæum. August. *Quest. Vet. et Novi Test.* qu. 73. Theophylact. in 2 Lucam et Matth. 12.

a point of faith by the Council of Trent; yet it is evidently contradicted not only by the Laodicean Council,* Ruffinus, Origen, Jerome, P. Gregory the Great, and others; but by multitudes of their own writers, as Cajetan, Lyra, Hugo, Sigonius, Occam, the ordinary Gloss, Waldensis, Antoninus, Tostatus, Carthusianus, Faber, Clichtoveus, Driedo, Ferus, with many more. Canus, even since the Council of Trent's decree, saith, "it is no heresy to reject the book of Baruch," and Sixtus Senensis, since that Council, denies the additions to the book of Esther to be canonical.

4. That we are justified by our own good works, or inherent righteousness, and not by faith only, is decreed by the Trent Council as an article of catholic faith; yet it is plainly contradicted, not only by the ancient Fathers, Clem. Rom. Epist. *ad Corinth.* Justin Martyr *ad Diognet.* Origen in c. 3. *ad Rom.* Ambrose in *Rom.* c. 4. et 9. Basil *de Humil.* Theodoret *de curand. Græc.* affect. lib. 7. Chrysostom in Galat. c. 3. Hesychius in Levit. 1. 4. c. 3. with others; but by Aquinas in Galat. 3. lect. 4 in Rom. 3. lect. 1. Pighius de justific. Cardinal Contarenus. The Anti-didag. Coloniens. Anselm, apud Hosium. tom. 1. Confess. Cathol. Bonaventura, 4. dist. 15. qu. 1. Jansenius Concordant. c. 20. p. 157. Gerson, lib. 4, de Consolat. Theolog. prosa 1.

5. That good works merit eternal life, is in like manner decreed by the Council of Trent. But Waldensis Sacramental, tit. 1. c. 7. saith, "He is the better catholic that simply denieth all merit, and confesseth that heaven is obtained by grace only." The like is affirmed by Ferus, lib. 3. Com. c. 20. in Matthæum. Stella in Lucam. c. 8. Marsilius de gratuita justif.† Faber Stapulensis in c. 11. ad Roman. Petavius the Jesuit, in effect, denieth all merits, which he saith, Dissert. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 4. depend on God's grace and free promise. Bellarmine, after his long dispute about justification by works and salvation by merits, confutes all he had said in these few words, *Tutissimum est, &c.*‡ It is the safest way, *propter incertitudinem propriæ justitiæ*, in regard of the uncertainty of our own righteousness (on which the certain knowledge that we have any merits at all is grounded),

* Augustin. cont. Gaudentium, 1. 2. c. 23. See Field's Appendix to his third Book of the Church. Loc. lib. 2. c. 9. Biblioth. lib. 1. c. 19.

† Ibid. c. 18. P. Adrian et Clichtoveus apud Cassand. Consult. art. 6.

‡ De Justif. lib. c. 7.

and the danger of pride and vain-glory, *periculum inanis gloriæ*, to place our whole trust, *totam fiduciam*, in God's mercy only, in *sola misericordia Dei*. Can any Protestant say more in opposition to merits and justification by our own good works?*. Let our very enemies be judges. I might add Greg. Ariminens. 1. dist. 17. qu. 1. art. 2. Durand. 2. dist. 27. qu. 2. p. 400. Scotus, lib. 1. c. 17. qu. 1. *in solutione quæst.*

6. Prayer in a tongue not understood by the people,† is defended and practised in the Roman Church; yet censured and disapproved by Cardinal Contarenus.‡ Cajetan and Aquinas in 1 Cor. 14. confess it were better for edification of the people, for prayer and other sacred offices to be performed in the vulgar tongue. Of the same judgment were Lyranus in 1 Cor. 14. Cassander *defensio officii pii viri contr.* Calvin. p. 141. Haymo and Sedulius in 1 Cor. 14. Biel in Can. Missæ, lect. 62.

7. Auricular confession, so severely urged by the Roman Church, is denied to be necessary by any divine law by Peresius, a Tridentine bishop, de Tradit. part 3. consid. 3. Petrus Oxoniensis apud Caranzam in Sixto. By Cajetan, Bonaventure, Rhenanus, Erasmus, with many others. It were easy, but I suppose needless, to add any points more. These are sufficient to evince, that besides other doctrines, some articles of the present Roman Catholic faith so decreed and made by the late Council of Trent, were never universally owned and received as such by the visible catholic Church in all ages, no, not by all such as lived and died in the communion of the Roman Church not long before Luther's time, but were openly opposed, contradicted, and condemned by them.

What is already said is, as I conceive, a full and satisfactory answer to Roman Catholics demanding of us some professors of our religion before the Reformation: it being strange, if it be from the Apostles, and have been in all ages, that we can shew no writings of some eminent professors of it before the Reformation: for here we have produced the writings of eminent professors of it, to wit, of the Prophets, Apostles, holy Fathers, and many of their own modern most learned writers. As to the writings of the Prophets and Apostles,

* C. Contarenus Epist. ad Card. Farnesium.

† See Brerewood's Inquiries, c. 26.

‡ Contaren. Instructio Christ. Rhemish Annotat. in 1 Cor. 14.

many of their own writers,* Lindanus, Peresius, Soto, Andradus, &c. confess, that all or most of their new Trent articles of faith, to wit, seven sacraments, transubstantiation, purgatory, indulgences, &c. have little or no ground at all in Scripture, but are unwritten verities depending on tradition only, to wit, of their Roman Church. We can shew what we believe as necessary to salvation from the Scripture; which they, as they confess, in many points cannot. Yea, whatsoever we believe as articles of faith contained in the primitive Creeds, they dare not deny. All our dispute is about points either not at all to be found, at least with any convincing evidence, in the Bible, or plainly contradicted by it.

The Protestant religion, then, is the true, ancient, visible, catholic and apostolic religion professed and taught by the Apostles in and by their writings; for what they first preached,† they afterwards, by the will of God, set down in their writings, that so in them we might have a sure foundation to build our faith upon, as Irenæus saith. Farther, we have produced also the writings of the ancient Fathers who lived in the ages near the Apostles, and have made it evident that they were either wholly ignorant of the new additional articles of the present Roman Catholic faith, or much doubted of them, or utterly condemned them. It is true these writers were not known by the name of Protestants, as some may object, and no more were they known by the name of Papists. But if they professed, as to be sure they did, that doctrine or religion only which is delivered and declared in their writings, who will deny that they were, although not nominally, yet really Protestants and professors of our ancient, not of the new-minted Roman religion, made as to some parts of it, to wit, transubstantiation, purgatory, &c. and framed in late Councils nearly twelve hundred years after the decease of the Apostles?

To their usual question, then, Where was the Protestant Church or religion before Luther? I answer, first, That it was there where their whole religion cannot, as they grant, be found, to wit, in the holy Scriptures. Secondly, It was, as

* Panopl. lib. 3. c. 5. De Tradit. Cont. Brent. l. 2. c. 68. Orthodox. explic. l. 2. Canus Loc. tom. l. 3. c. 3.

† Iren. lib. 3. c. 1. Quod præconiauerunt, postea per Dei voluntatem in scripturis nobis tradiderunt fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum.

Bishop Usher saith well,* where their Church was, in the same place, though not in the same state and condition. The Reformation, or Protestantism, did not make a new faith or church, but reduced things to the primitive purity; plucked not up the good seed, the catholic faith or true worship, but the after-sown tares of error, as image-worship, purgatory, &c. which were ready to choke it. Did the reformation in Hezekiah's or Josiah's days set up a new church or religion different in essence from the old one? Had it not been a ridiculous impertinency for one that knew Naaman before, while he stood by, to ask where is Naaman? And being answered, this is he, for the inquirer to reply, it cannot be he, for Naaman was a leper, this man is clean: was not Naaman formerly a leper, and now cleansed, the same person? A field of wheat in part weeded, is the same it was as to ground and seed, not another. In like manner the true visible Christian Church, cleansed and unclean, reformed and unreformed, is the same Church altered, not as to essence or substance, but quality or condition.

That the true visible Church of God may be generally overrun with corruptions in worship, errors, yea, heresies, we see not only in the Jewish but Christian churches of Corinth, Thyatira, &c. and all the Eastern churches, yea, almost the whole world in Athanasius's days, is so undeniable a truth, that Baronius† and other of our adversaries are forced, as we have seen above, to grant it. Why should it then seem to them impossible or incredible that the Church of God, in the blind and unlearned ages before Luther, should in like manner be overrun with many pernicious errors in doctrine and corruptions in worship: if so, as Nicolas Clemangis, Alvarez Pelagius, and others of their own church confess and bewail;‡ why might not the king of England, as well as Hezekiah or Josiah, redress these abuses, and suppress these errors in his own dominions? Why might not other states and princes do the same? especially when reformation of them by a free General Council (not enslaved to the Pope's will and pleasure), though promised, could not be obtained. Was it necessary,§ for fear of making a new church or religion, that the Church

* Dr. White sub Papatu, non Papatus.

† A. d. Ann. 358. Totus mundus abiit post Pelagium. Bradwardin de causa Dei in prefat.

‡ V. Caranzan de Conciliis, p. 786, 789.

§ V. Concil. Pisanum, Sess. 16. et 20.

of God must for ever lie under those defilements and corruptions? If not, may not our Reformers justly say, What evil have we done?

Not to be too tedious: this question, Where was the Protestant Church in the ages before Luther, ariseth from several mistakes: First, From want of distinguishing betwixt a true visible Church and a sound one. The Roman Church, from which Luther and others received their baptism and ordination, we grant to be a part or member of the catholic Church, but it was unsound and subject to many diseases, *i.e.* corruptions in doctrine, worship, and discipline, which, like ill humours, endangered its very life. The Reformation, wherein Luther, with many more, were instrumental, was not poison to destroy its vitals, but purgative physic to remove its distempers, and to preserve them. Secondly, It is a mistake, that they will not distinguish betwixt the avowed and universally owned doctrines of a Church, and the opinions or practices of some few or many in it. In the churches of Pergamos or Thyatira there were some, and possibly not a few, who held the doctrine of Balaam, and were seduced by that wicked Jezebel, pretending to be a prophetess, and infallible; yet these doctrines were not properly the doctrines of those churches, but of a party in them. The like we say of the errors in the Church of Rome, that they were never universally owned and allowed, no not by many eminent professors and writers of her own communion, as we have made evident. Thirdly, It is a great mistake when they demand that we shew the Protestant religion and Church distinct and separate from the Catholic in all ages, when we affirm and prove, that not only in the Apostles' days, but for near 500 years after, the true apostolic faith was, at least as to substance, kept pure and uncorrupt. Would they have us to shew Protestants protesting against the ancient and primitive faith? As for their new Tridentine articles of faith, they were not (to be sure not some of them) then in being to be protested against. Fourthly, It is a gross mistake to think, that all who live in a true but corrupted Christian Church, are either bound to approve of those corruptions, or at all times necessary to separate actually and personally from the Church for their sake.* This Protestants condemn in Donatists and Brownists or Separatists. The errors and corruptions of the Roman Church were a long time growing in or upon her. The tares were not seen as soon as they were sown, but after they were grown up. God forbid

* See Bull against Can.

we should condemn to hell all our forefathers that lived and died in the communion of the Roman Church. In the Prophet Elijah's, Isaiah's, Jeremiah's, days, the true visible Church of God was corrupted, both princes, priests, and people severely reprov'd; yet the Prophets advised none to separate therefore from the temple and worship of God, although no doubt their mind was, that all, as far as was possible, should keep themselves free and undefiled from those prevalent corruptions. Likewise our blessed Saviour forsook not the temple; and although he warned them to "take heed of the leaven," i.e. false doctrines, of the Scribes and Pharisees; yet in regard they sat in Moses's chair, he commands the people to do as they said (i.e. according to the law), and consequently to go and hear what they said. Much, very much, as Augustine and other Fathers tell us, is to be borne rather than to make a schism in the Church of God. On this ground, no doubt, many of our forefathers before the Reformation, continued till death in the communion of the Roman Church, that so they might enjoy the benefit of the word and sacraments; although they mourned for and groaned under the over-flowing predominancy of many errors and superstitious observations in their days, heartily desiring, yea, openly requiring a removal of them, but could not obtain it.

The Jesuit, whom Dr. White* answered, acknowledgeth, that the Church is not actually seen at all times, yet it may be discerned with prudent and diligent inquiry, in regard, even in times of its greatest obscurity or persecution, there were always some eminent and known members of it. He adds, although it have not always an outward and illustrious estate, and cannot where persecution rageth, practise publicly the rites of divine worship; yet the Church never did or shall want an inward estate or subordination to pastors, &c. If this be, as he grants, sufficient to make good the perpetual visibility of the Church we can easily evince the visibility of the Protestant Church and religion under Papal persecutions from the writings of those times, as the reader may in part discern from what we have collected. But in regard they so vehemently urge us to shew some professors of the Protestant religion divided and separated from the Roman Church, we (though it be no way necessary, as we have seen above) mention the Wicklervists,† Lollards, Bohemians, Waldenses, and Albigenses, who were

* Page 379.

† See Bishop Usher de Success. Eccl.

vastly numerous, and had pastors of their own, resisting Popery even unto blood. Only I must mind our adversaries, these persons were rather *fugati*, violently driven out of the Roman Church by excommunications armed with fire and sword, than *fugitivi*, fugitives, or voluntary separatists. As for their condemning them as heretics, it signifies little or nothing, for that is the matter in question; and seeing the Pope and Court of Rome, as St. Bernard,* Pope Adrian, Sarisberiensis and others acknowledge, were in those days charged as the source and original cause of all disorders and abuses in the Church, it is most unreasonable their known enemies should be admitted as their judges in their own cause. The truth is, some of the Popish writers of those days have accused Wickliffe, the Waldenses and Albigenses of such inconsistent, horrid and self-contradicting opinions, that no ingenuous and impartial men can possibly believe any thing they say of them.† I verily think their great fault or heresy was, that they were *victus populus Dei*, as they said, conquered, quelled and subdued by force of arms, not arguments: so were the catholics under the heathen and Arian persecuting Emperors. Certainly no prudent Christian will take prosperity, victory, outward pomp and power to be certain notes or perpetual properties of the true Church and right believers; nay, adversity and persecution rather as our Saviour intimates, when he assures his Apostles, they should be hated of all men for his name's sake, and that the time would soon come, when whosoever killed them should think (as the Crusadoes and their military St. Dominic no doubt thought) they did God service. It is sufficient to our present purpose, that we shew some who held with us against the present doctrine of the Papacy.

But here I expect their usual objection; that many of the writers and persons we allege, did not in all things agree with the Protestants, though in some particulars they consented.

True, no more did they in all things agree with the present Roman Church. If some, who believed not the Pope's supremacy, the sacrifice of Christ in the mass, merits, purgatory, &c. were yet members as of the Catholic, so Roman Church, and were saved (which I suppose no Papist will deny): why are we Protestants condemned as heretics to hell, for believing as some of their infallible Popes and canonized saints have

* Bernard de Concil. Adri. in legatione ad Principes Germanie. Polycrat. lib. 6. cap. 24.

† Usher de Success. Eccl.

done? I challenge any Papist to shew me one national or provincial Church (I might go farther) in the whole world, that, for at least 1200 years after Christ, did in all points believe as the Trent Council have decreed; or professed that Catholic religion, which Pope Pius hath summed up in his Creed. We may ask them, where was your Tridentine faith and Church before Luther? Was Pope Leo the Great for receiving the communion in one kind? Was Pope Gregory the Great for worshipping of images, or for that proud, profane, antichristian and foolish name (as he calls it) of universal bishop? Were Cyprian, St. Augustine, the Council of Chalcedon, the African bishops, for appeals to the Bishop of Rome, and subjecting all churches to the Pope's universal jurisdiction? Were these Tridentine Papists? Was P. Gelasius for transubstantiation? Were they in all things agreeing with our present Roman Catholics? Who hath so hard a forehead as to affirm it, or so soft a head as to believe it?

I shall only add, that it is no wonder, if many good men and learned did not at once see and discover, in an age wherein ignorance and superstition abounded, all these errors, abuses, and corruptions, which infected the Church of God, but did in some things, not altogether so gross and palpably wicked as others, *errare errorem seculi*, follow the current of the times.

To end, I hope, Sir, by what hath been said, you plainly perceive that those doctrines and practices Protestants have rejected, were never any part of the true, primitive and catholic faith contained in the Scriptures or writings of the ancient Fathers and Councils. Yea, that in the later, and, as is confessed, worst ages of the Church, were never received and visibly professed by all true catholics, whether of the Grecian or Roman communion.* The most and best that can be said is, that at first some of them were the private sentiments, and doubtful opinions of some worthy men; as invocation of saints, purgatory, &c. in the fourth or fifth century: which after many ages, by the policy and power of the Pope and his party, were obtruded by the Councils of Lateran, Constance, Florence, Trent, &c. as articles of faith, on this western part of the world, but not without visible opposition and open contradiction. I have shewed how multitudes of learned and pious men did complain of them, and write against them; and others, as the Waldenses and Albigenses, forced by violence and

persecution, separated themselves (as the orthodox Christians did under the prevalence of the Arians) actually and personally from them, besides others who cordially, yet, for fear of persecution, more privately and secretly, *i.e.* in some sense or degree invisibly renounced and detested them.

I shall here add, that indeed this is more than we are in reason bound to shew; for it was sufficient to prove the perpetual existence or visibility of the catholic Church, and to denominate the Roman a true, though corrupt part or member of it, that she professed the fundamentals of Christian faith contained in the Apostolic, Nicene, Athanasian Creeds,* although she superadded, as hay and stubble, thereunto many additional or traditional points and erroneous practices, whereby consequentially the foundation of faith was much shaken and undermined; yet so, as some amongst them, not erring wilfully, upon a general repentance, might be saved, yet so as by fire, *i.e.* with much danger and difficulty. However, undeniable it is, that many eminent writers and professors in the ages before Luther, never owned them as theological truths, much less articles of faith, but visibly, openly, and courageously resisted them even unto blood. These, and not the Popish domineering party (termed by some the Court rather than the Church of Rome) were, as the persecuted† catholics under Liberius and the Arian Emperors, in the strict and most proper sense the true, visible, catholic Church, which remained discernible, though more obscurely, *in firmis suis membris*, as St. Augustine speaketh, “in these her most firm and invincible members.” Others, who maintained, promoted, and tyrannically imposed these errors as points of faith, were, in respect of these introduced corruptions, like an imposthumated wen, growing by little and little on the body of the Church; or like a gangrene, or leprosy spreading itself by degrees over it; the cutting of this wen, the curing this gangrene, the cleansing and removing this leprosy, our adversaries most unreasonably and absurdly condemn, as destroying the ancient catholic faith, and setting up a new Church under the banner of Luther; which we detest and abhor. Contrarily we, not they, contend earnestly for the ancient true catholic faith, once, and once for all, delivered to the saints, in opposition to their late sub-introduced novelties of transubstantiation, image-worship,

* V. Augustin. de Baptismo contra Donatist. l. i. c. 8, et 10. Bishop Usher's Sermon before King James, of the Unity of Faith.

† August. Epist. ad Vincent.

purgatory, &c. which, as we see by Pope Pius's new Creed, they will needs add as articles of the ancient, primitive and catholic faith, to the Nicene Creed, necessarily to be believed and professed by all Christians under peril of heresy and damnation. If the Pope and Church of Rome may make as many articles of faith as they please; surely in time we may have a Creed as large as Aquinas's Sum. I shall only add my earnest prayer, that God would enlighten you with his Holy Spirit, that you may see the truth, and, renouncing all secular ends and private interests, cordially embrace it, in regard (as an ancient Father* long since said) it becometh not wise men rashly to give up themselves to their fathers' customs, but to endeavour to find out the truth. *Amen.*

YOUR FAITHFUL FRIEND.

* Theodoret. de Curand. Græcor. affect. Sermon. 1.

END OF VOL. IV.

